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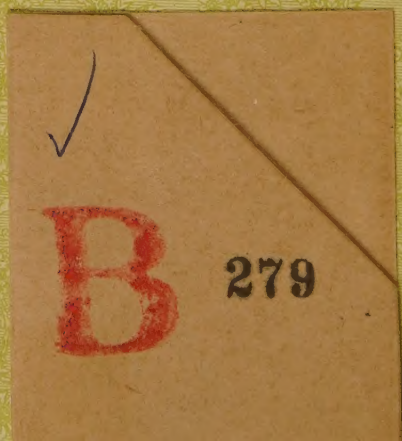

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THE HISTORY

OF

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE

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Henry Jermyn Earl of St. Albans,
as a young man,
from the original by Vandyck at Rushbrooke.

Walker & Boutall. Ph. Sc.

THE HISTORY

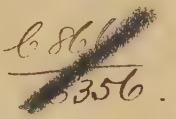
OF

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE

AND THE

FOUNDATION OF THE WEST END OF LONDON

With a Glimpse of Whitehall in the Reign of Charles the Second



BY

ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT

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ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.

"We call it little London; and it outdoes . . . . . all the Squares, in dressing and breeding; nay, even the Court itself, under the rose."—SHADWELL'S *Bury Fair*, act I., sc. i.

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PREFACE

THE following account of St. James's Square is, I believe, the first attempt at a systematic visitation from house to house of any particular street or square in London, and may therefore fairly claim to break new ground. I have endeavoured to present a plain record of facts (unrelieved, I trust, by fiction), as they affect some few acres and some five-and-twenty individual houses out of the many square miles of streets and buildings which go to make up the area of the greatest city in the world.

Founding my researches on the invaluable series of parochial rate-books preserved at the St. James's Vestry Hall,—a mine of topographical material much neglected by antiquarian writers, as few authors have hitherto cared to seek inspiration from the tax-collector—I have also freely consulted the diaries of Evelyn, Pepys, and Luttrell, that trio of entertaining gossips whose writings have done so much to bring home to us the history of the seventeenth

century, the memoirs of Walpole, Hervey, and Wraxall in the eighteenth century, the Wentworth Correspondence and other MSS. in the British Museum, the Calendars of State Papers, and Original Documents in the Public Record Office, and the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the pages of Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's little-known *Handbook of St. James's Parish*, published so long ago as 1850; to the works of Peter Cunningham and his editor Mr. Wheatley; to Colonel Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*; and to the late Mr. James E. Doyle's *Official Baronage*.

In addition to these sources of information I have received much valuable assistance from householders in the Square, many of whom have unreservedly placed their title-deeds and other family records at my disposal. Among these I am particularly indebted to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, who possesses a unique series of deeds relating to property in the Square from its foundation to the present day; to the Marquis of Bristol, Earl Cowper, and Sir Joseph Bailey.

In reviewing the varying aspects of life in close proximity to the Court, where the pulse of fashion beats with greater force and regularity than else-

where, the lighter rather than the more serious side of human nature has been touched upon in sketching the inhabitants of the old Square, many of them famous, and some of them, as will be seen hereafter, decidedly infamous.

In an Appendix will be found concise lists of owners and occupiers, and a comparative table of rates levied (for that rates are raised no householder needs to be reminded) on every house in the Square at intervals of twenty years from its foundation. The preparation of these lists has been by far the most laborious part of my researches, and I shall be very grateful for any corrections or additions which may suggest themselves to my readers, and especially for any unpublished letters referring directly to individual houses.

ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT.

Windham Club,
St. James's Square.

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THE HISTORY

OF

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SQUARE

Before dealing with individual houses in the Square and enumerating the celebrities who have dwelt there at one time or another, it will be well to take note of the fact that, as a residential district, the West End of London dates only from the Restoration.

If we look at Faithorne and Newcourt's excellent map of 1658, of which that portion of London lying west of Charing Cross is reproduced on the opposite page, we find that the most westerly houses then standing were Tart Hall, Goring House, and a third building in the adjoining place of public entertainment known as the Mulberry Garden.

Tart Hall, which had also an extensive garden, stood near the junction of James Street and Buckingham Gate, and was the residence of the ill-fated William, Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded in 1680. Goring House was long the property of the Earls of Norwich; for a time it was occupied by Speaker Lenthall, and, after possession had been resumed by the Goring family at the Restoration, it came into the occupation of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. He had not lived here long before it was, with all its contents, entirely destroyed by fire. Buckingham Palace occupies the site of Goring House and the aforesaid Mulberry Garden, and it would be interesting to know, the mulberry being a very long-lived tree, if any specimens survive in the Palace gardens; for if this be the case, their branches may once have afforded a grateful shade alike to the frolicsome Pepys and the staider Evelyn when they repaired thither in summer time for recreation. Till within quite recent years there flourished one or more of these trees, and perhaps they flourish still, in the gardens at the back of the houses in James Street, and this seems to point to a similar plantation in the cases of Tart Hall (the origin of which name no man can tell) and its neighbours across the road. The situation was a low one, and in the map of 1658 a watercourse is shown meandering down from the high ground beyond Piccadilly to join the Long Ditch and finally discharge itself into the Thames. The track of this stream is not now visible above

ground, but, as is the case with many another ancient watercourse in London, it still exists in the form of a sewer, and all but the most unobservant must have noticed how in foggy weather the atmosphere is always densest at the dip in Piccadilly between the St. James's Club and Hertford House, and in the neighbourhood of Buckingham Palace itself. When Faithorne drew his map, fashionable London had not as yet sought the *rus in urbe* beyond the parks. Pimlico, since rechristened Belgravia, but yet not wholly purified in the process, was for the most part a dismal and unhealthy swamp; Tyburn suggested nothing better than the gallows; Paddington, Kensington, and Chelsea were lonely suburban villages rarely visited by the ordinary citizen. To Chelsea the usual mode of access then, and long after, was by water; to Kensington, by the "north-west passage" skirting Hyde Park, in preference to the dreaded Brompton lanes to the southward, impassable in wet weather, and dangerous at all seasons on account of the frequent and unwelcome presence of footpads and knights of the road.

The whole of the area bounded by Piccadilly on the north, by the Haymarket on the east, by Pall Mall on the south, and where St. James's Street now stands on the west, was unoccupied by houses, save for a few insignificant dwellings at the east end of Pall Mall, and for Berkshire House, which stood on the west side of the roadway leading from St. James's Palace to Piccadilly. Even these boundaries were

mere country lanes bordering upon green fields gay with wild flowers and orchards of apple-blossom, and gladdened in early summer by the sweet breath of the May. The Pall Mall Field, or Close, which represents the actual site of St. James's Square, was one of the largest of these meadows, and was used for purposes of recreation by the courtiers.

Such then was the state of the neighbourhood when, soon after the Restoration, Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, on his return from Paris, obtained (owing to his long and intimate connection with the King and the Queen-mother) in the first instance a building lease of forty-five acres of St. James's Fields, and eventually the grant in fee of the site of the Square. His influence at Court was mainly of the backstairs or bed-chamber order, but none the less valuable on that account, as in those days the officers of the household had at all times a readier access to the King's ear than those Ministers and Secretaries of State whose functions were political rather than social.

Sorbière, who must have known Jermyn in France, speaks of him as "a man of pleasure, who makes little or no pretensions to the Prime Ministry, and entertains no other thoughts than to live at ease;" admirable qualifications these for one desirous of ingratiating himself with the King, and well calculated to ensure his position at Court. Jermyn, having obtained these valuable concessions, set himself to work in conjunction with Sir John Coell,

Sir Thomas Clarges, and others to develope his building-estate, with the entire approval and under the personal direction of the King. The warrant for the original lease of 1662, preserved in the Public Record Office and never yet printed in its entirety, is given in Appendix B. Perhaps the earliest mention of the actual commencement of this enterprise is the entry in Pepys's Diary, September 2nd, 1663, where he notes: "The building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about, and which the City stomach, I perceive, highly, but dare not oppose it."

In laying out his estate the founder of the West End of London, for so Harry Jermyn deserves to be designated, reserved a central site for the great piazza which was intended to surpass in general convenience all similar places in the town, and to eclipse the building operations of Lord Treasurer Southampton then going forward in Bloomsbury Square. For a time, however, the great project languished, and in a petition presented by Lord St. Albans to the King in August, 1663, we read: "Whereas the beauty of this great town and the convenience of the Court are defective in point of houses fit for the dwellings of noblemen and other persons of quality, and that your Majesty hath thought fit for some remedy hereof to appoint that the Place of St. James's Field should be built in great and good houses, it is represented that unless your Majesty be pleased to grant the inheritance of

the ground whereon some 13 or 14 houses that will compose the said Place are to stand, it will be very hard to attain the end proposed, for that men will not build palaces upon any term but that of inheritance." [1] This petition, than which nothing could be more precise, was apparently mislaid at the Treasury, for on December 12th of the same year Lord St. Albans wrote (from Somerset House) to Williamson entreating him most earnestly to find out from Mr. Secretary Bennet into whose hands it had been put by him on his journey to Bath, and desiring its immediate return.

The French traveller Monconys, who visited England in the train of the Duc de Chevreuse in the summer of 1663, records a visit to "M. Oldenburg logé au Vieux Mail [Pall Mall], qui est situé au côté d'une très grande place qui est peut-être quatre fois la place Royale et deux fois Belle-Cour ; elle appartient au Milord St. Alban, qui y va faire des bâtimens qui la détruiront." [2] From the dimensions given, Monconys no doubt intended to refer to the plotting out of the entire building estate of forty-five acres, and not to the Square in particular. Sorbière, who visited London at the same time, also mentions the "New Buildings carried on towards St. James's, which cannot be inferior to those of Belle Court at Lyons."

[1] *State Papers Domestic;* August 14th, 1663, No. 340, p. 239.

[2] *Voyages en Angleterre*, Paris, 1695, p. 18.

A fair which had been held in St. James's Fields from time immemorial was suppressed in July, 1664, as "tending rather to the advantage of looseness and irregularity than to the substantial promoting of any good," and in its stead a market (the legitimate successor of most fairs) was proclaimed in the following September.[1]

Notwithstanding the delay in the commencement of the great Square,[2] building operations must have been actively pushed on elsewhere, as the rate-books of St. Martin's parish for the same year refer to a number of houses in "St. James's Fields in the Market Place" all assessed at a low figure.

The inhabitants of the bailywick of St. James's now petitioned Parliament for a bill to divide St. James's from the mother parish of St. Martin,[3] and for the erection of a separate church, but their prayer was not destined to be granted till many years later. Building operations were brought to a standstill during the Plague, but resumed in earnest after the Fire of London. Jermyn Street, Charles Street, St. Albans Street, and King Street, were the first streets completed north of Pall Mall, and no sooner built than inhabited by the prime quality of the Cavalier

[1] Morley's *Memorials of Bartholomew Fair*, 1859, p. 242.

[2] Lord Arlington writes on March 25th, 1665, to Lord Chancellor Clarendon to urge the immediate completion of Lord St. Albans's grant of the inheritance of the Square whether it had received the Lord Treasurer's sanction or not.

[3] *Journals of the House of Commons* (1664), viii. 544.

nobility and gentry who till now had known nothing better than Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Piazza in Covent Garden. One of the most fashionable streets in London in the reign of Charles the First, was Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Some of the houses therein are said to have been designed by Inigo Jones, but that now numbered 55 and 56 on the south side is perhaps the only remaining specimen of his work to be seen in the whole street. These interesting houses, before their conversion into shops, figure in one of the woodcuts in Leigh Hunt's *The Town*. Previous to the Restoration we also find the Cavalier aristocracy crowded in Drury Lane and in the neighbourhood of Craven House, if they were not numbered among the few fortunate owners of mansions in the Strand.

The timbered and gabled London depicted by Hollar now gave way gradually to a new town of brick and stone, possibly less picturesque, but certainly more convenient.

Perhaps the very first of the aristocracy to take up his abode in any of Lord St. Albans's new buildings was Sir William Stanley, who in 1666 was rated for a house then described as being in "the upper side of the Fields," and, in the next year's rate-book as being in "Jarman Street, West End, North Side." The rate was only £1, and yet he did not pay it!

The path of fashion in those latter days of the seventeenth century may readily be traced westwards, from Lincoln's Inn Fields, through Great Queen

Street and Covent Garden, towards Leicester Fields, and thence onward again to the undiscovered region beyond the Haymarket and to the north of Pall Mall. A forest of bricks and mortar replaced the apple-orchards of a previous generation, and this new quarter of the town is alluded to by Chamberlayne in the second part of his *Angliæ Notitia*, so early as 1671, as "the many stately uniform piles in St. James's Fields." Some of the nobility still lived in the City itself, but with the close of the Civil Wars a greater sense of security seems to have prevailed among all classes, and the fashion of dwelling within the walls commenced to decline. City men still clung for a time to their counting-houses, but courtiers and gallants, the "men of honour and quality," for whom Lord St. Albans built, preferred to cluster round the palace of the sovereign. As has been well said by a recent historian, "with the entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall, modern England begins"; and the same holds true as regards London. Shaftesbury was probably the last Lord Chancellor who lived within the precincts of the City, though by way of contrast his successor, Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, lived at what is now Kensington Palace, a good four and a half miles from the centre of London, reckoning from the Standard in Cornhill;[1] and the general tendency

[1] For a curious view of Shaftesbury's house in Aldersgate Street, which existed in a mutilated form till quite recently, see Delaune's *Present State of London*, 1681.

to move westward which set in at the Restoration undoubtedly received a fresh impetus after the Great Fire of London.

From 1667, when his house at the south-east corner of the projected piazza was first rated in the parish books, Lord St. Albans was in a position to superintend his building operations on the spot,[1] and having two years earlier, in spite of the opposition of Lord Treasurer Southampton, obtained from the King, the coveted grant of the freehold of the ground on which these great houses were to stand,[2] he proceeded

[1] See the account of Norfolk House.

[2] The very extensive and valuable series of title-deeds and miscellaneous documents relating to this property possessed by the Duke of Norfolk having been placed at the entire disposal of the author, it has been rendered possible, in conjunction with the parochial rate-books, to reconstruct the past, and to trace the successive ownership of the various houses on this spot from the very earliest date at which St. James's Square had any separate existence and definite position in the world of London. From one of these deeds, the wording of which differs somewhat from that of the warrant for the same grant dated September 23rd, 1664, preserved in the Public Record Office and quoted in part by Mr. Wheatley and others, we learn the precise limits of the twelve acres three roods and twenty-two perches, on part of which the Square stands. The grant by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date at Westminster, April 1st, 1665 (printed in Appendix B), besides conveying to Lord St. Albans and his trustees, Baptist May and Abraham Cowley, the freehold of this preferential site, included King-street, which is not now private property and must therefore have been subsequently resumed by the Crown, a considerable portion of ground subsequently covered by the houses on the north side of Pall Mall,

to distribute the various plots among his friends and the principal builders of the day in about equal proportions, his practice being to devise the fee and inheritance of the soil for a sum of money down, while reserving a small yearly ground-rent in perpetuity.[1]

Lords Arlington, Halifax, and Bellasis were his earliest and most favoured clients, and each of them obtained a corner site in this desirable position,—the nearest residential square to Charing Cross, now the acknowledged centre of London and even then a busy place.

The names of eminent builders like Nicholas Barebone (the son of Praise-God-Barebones), Abraham Storey, and Richard Frith, occur in Lord St. Albans's rent-roll of 1676,[2] of which that part relating exclusively to the Square is reproduced on a later page; and they seem to have been in some instances so far associated with the ground landlord in the speculation as to have acquired plots of land to sell again. All these three builders have left their mark upon London; Barebone afterwards built Red Lion Square; Storey (who had lived in Pall Mall even before the Restoration), or one of the same family, is commemorated in Storey's Gate; and

and the two stable-yards now known as Babmaes Mews and Mason's Yard respectively.

[1] The area of the Square is stated by Hatton in the *New View of London* (1708) to be about four and a half acres.

[2] *Add. MSS.* British Museum, 22,063.

Frith, who built Lord St. Albans's own house, has given his name to Frith Street, Soho, the formation of which dates from but a few years later than St. James's Square itself.

The grand undertaking, the construction of the "palaces fit for the dwellings of noblemen and persons of quality," proceeded but slowly, a decade indeed elapsing between the date of Jermyn coming to live at old St. Albans House and the completion of the piazza. Life was not then the mad hurry it has now become; and men could still afford to recognise the wisdom of Chaucer's words:

> There is na workeman
> That can bothe worken wel and hastilie.
> This must be done at leisure parfaitlie.

The words of a recent writer in *The Quarterly Review* are so germane to this subject that no apology is needed for quoting them here. "In the Metropolis and throughout England some two centuries ago, the houses of the better class were for the most part built and planned for the convenience of the occupier in proportion to his means. The occupier was presumably the owner; he acquired sufficient width of land on which to build a proper house, and deliberately made it fit to live in, in accordance with the simple custom of the times. The rooms were spacious as their name implies; the stairs were broad and easy of ascent; and the wide entrance-hall was a fit introduction, liberally proportioned, to a dignified and

ample suite of rooms."[1] In such deliberate manner were the houses in St. James's Square constructed in the first instance. A generation later, in 1708, Lady Wentworth, alluding to a house here which she was anxious her son should buy, writes : "I wish and hope you will have that in the Square, it is a noble house and fit for you, and strong. No danger of its falling by great winds, and it must be very warm, having those brick walls." It is only fair to add that she also says, "abundance of the new buildings fall," which only goes to prove that builders were beginning to get careless even in Queen Anne's time. The party-walls of many of these same houses testify to this day to the excellence of the workmanship of the seventeenth century, and when Cleveland House was recently demolished even the interior brickwork was found to be over three feet thick.[2]

Having thus briefly sketched the origin of the Square, and, so to speak, assisted at the laying of the foundations of the West End, it will be convenient to treat more particularly of the earliest inhabitants, of whom any record has been preserved, in a separate chapter.

[1] *The Quarterly Review*, No. 351, p. 68.

[2] A workman employed in pulling the house down told the author that enough materials were taken out of it to build half a street of the eligible villas of our day.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF THE SQUARE

In the Civil Wars half the British electorate had been disfranchised as Malignants; but, with the Restoration, Parliament began to feel its feet, as it were, and its members to show their power at the polls, and sometimes, more disagreeably to the Court, in their places at Westminster. This circumstance, coupled with the re-establishment of the pomp and pageantry of the Court at Whitehall, attracted to London, notwithstanding the difficulties of locomotion and the perils of the roads, many to whom the metropolis had hitherto been an unknown world; and we may be sure that the wives and daughters of the new Parliament men were only too willing to exchange provincial obscurity for the gaiety and excitement of town. The meteoric career of a country gentleman, newly elected to Parliament, who brings his wife and family up to town, has been vividly sketched for us by Vanbrugh in his unfinished comedy, *A Journey to London*. Setting out in a coach and six, horsed by equal contingents from the livery

and the farm stables, and with a goodly retinue of body servants, temporarily diverted from their ordinary avocation of following the plough (a device, it will be remembered, resorted to in after-years by Mr. Hardcastle on the occasion of young Marlow's visit), the squire and his family reach London only to find that the possible political advantages to be gained by the husband in the House of Commons will certainly be more than counterbalanced by the evils attendant on the wife's introduction to the frivolous habits and agreeable vices of the West End : "In short before her husband has got five pounds by a speech at Westminster she will have lost five hundred at cards and dice in the parish of St. James's."

But what were the conditions of social life in 1676, which is the first year in which St. James's Square as a whole appears in the parochial books as a separate place of residence? The liberty of the Press had still not commenced to dawn in England ; the advantages of education were confined to the upper classes, and not much esteemed by many of them. There was no regular standing army, and the navy had scarcely begun to feel the beneficent effects of the Duke of York's administration of the Admiralty, although it was soon to occupy much of the time and attention of the House of Commons. Painting, since the death of William Dobson the first English portrait-painter, was confined to foreign talent, as was architecture until the advent of Wren. The

two playhouses which London supported were centres of immorality rather than schools of art, and the general tone of society was sadly wanting in refinement. A more temperate spirit and a gradual improvement in manners is said to date from the introduction of coffee-houses, and a consequently somewhat more restricted use of strong drinks by both sexes. Medicine and surgery may be said to have been still in their infancy. Commercial prosperity was however on the increase; and though science had as yet made little progress, notwithstanding the establishment of the Royal Society, the experiments of Boyle, Oldenburg, and others were beginning to attract the attention of thoughtful men in all parts of Europe, many of the earlier meetings of the Society being attended by distinguished foreigners.

By 1676 the new piazza in St. James's Fields was sufficiently advanced to house a baker's dozen of ratepayers, the highest assessment then being £10 in the case of Lord Purbeck, who paid it, and the lowest £2 in the cases of Lady Newburgh and Sir Fulke Lucy, both of whom allowed their rates to fall into arrear.

In Charles Street, south side, west end, were living in 1676, among others, Lady Sunderland, Lady Legge, and Lord Clifford, according to the rate-books, this particular street having been built and inhabited as early as 1671 (though Mr. Wheatley does not mention it before 1673), when the name of

Lord Clifford also appears for a house assessed at thirty shillings. In the two previous years he had paid the same rate for a house then described as being in St. Albans Street, north-west side. In 1675 Lady Newburgh was rated in Charles Street (in which a few of the houses subsequently entered as being in the piazza were probably first reckoned by the parochial authorities, pending the completion of the Square as a whole), at the same figure as she afterwards paid in the latter position. Lord St. Albans himself is rated under Charles Street in 1675, which seems to suggest that the principal entrance to his original house in the south-east corner of the Square (where Norfolk House now stands) was even then through the stable-yard still existing at the back of the houses which now form the south-east block. On its first erection it was undoubtedly approached by way of Pall Mall, when from the upper windows of the elevation towards the Mall there would have been enjoyed an almost uninterrupted view southward over St. James's Park towards Whitehall and even to the City of Westminster beyond, where the long barn-like roof of the Abbey (for there were no flanking western towers then) broke the sky-line in the far distance.[1]

[1] A very clear and detailed description of Western London at this period is contained in Ogilby's *Britannia*, published in 1675, but for which the actual particulars were no doubt collected slightly earlier. This account, which has hitherto been strangely overlooked by most topographical writers is reproduced in Appendix C.

It will here perhaps be found convenient to give the names of the first inhabitants, and the rates they paid, as they occur in the earliest rate-book which refers specifically to the Square (the spelling being modernised), and to contrast them with the list of names given in Lord St. Albans's rent-roll of the same year.

POOR'S RATE BOOK OF THE PARISH OF ST. MARTIN'S IN THE FIELDS, 1676.

St. James's Square in the Fields.

	Rated.			Received.			Arrears.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Marquess of Blanquefort	5	0	0	3	15	0	1	5	0
Lady Newburgh	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Countess of Warwick	3	0	0	3	0	0			
Earl of Oxford	3	10	0		—		3	10	0
Earl of Clarendon	5	0	0		—		5	0	0
Sir Cyril Wyche	2	10	0	2	10	0			
Lawrence Hyde	2	10	0	2	10	0			
Sir Fulke Lucy	2	0	0		—		2	0	0
Lord Purbeck	10	0	0	10	0	0			
Lord Halifax	6	0	0	6	0	0			
Sir Allen Apsley	2	16	0	2	16	0			
Madam Churchill	3	6	0	3	6	0			
Madam Davis	2	6	0	2	6	0			

Here we have the names of thirteen, for the most part prominent, men and women, who were the first to take up their abode in this historic spot; but certain discrepancies are at once apparent between the entries in this parochial rate-book and the following more complete list set forth in Lord St. Albans's MS. rent-roll for the same year, and never hitherto printed.

RENT ROLL OF HENRY JERMYN, EARL OF ST. ALBANS, 1676. *Add. MSS.* British Museum, No. 22,063. Arranged in conformity with the modern numbering of the houses in the Square, commencing at the south-east corner. In the original the entries are made haphazard.

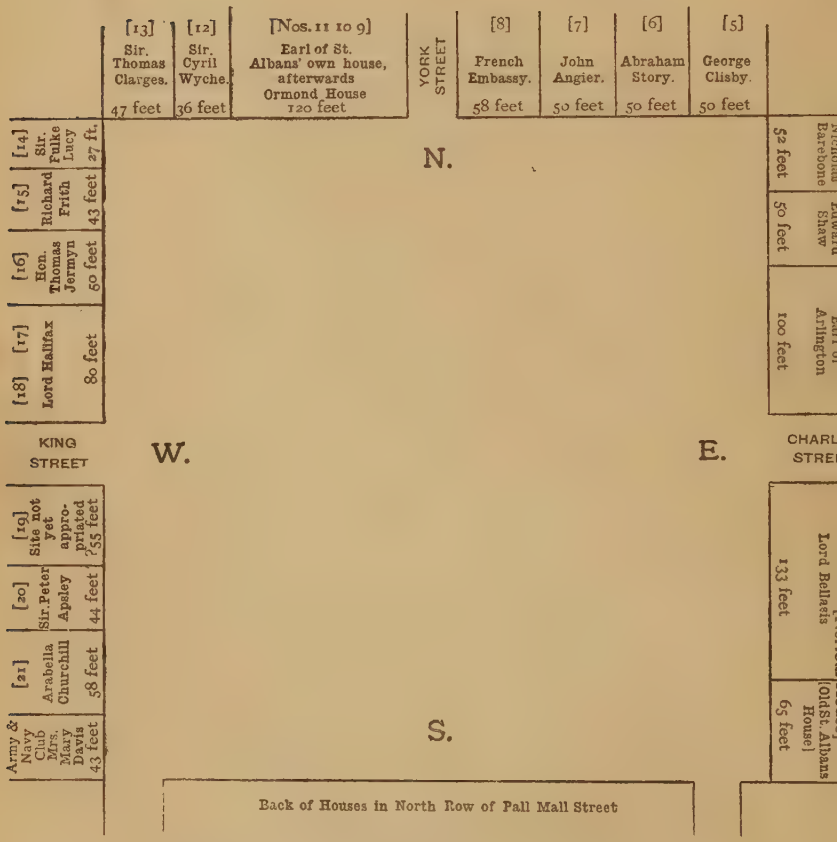
The New Buildings in St. James's Fields whose rents are only ground-rents.

Corresponding modern numbering, etc.	The names of the tenants and dates of their leases.	The particulars devised and places where they lie.	The yearly rents reserved.
The more northerly portion of Norfolk House, London House, and Derby House.	The Rt. Hon. John Lord Bellasis holdeth by Assurance dated 24th March, 1669.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the east side of the Piazza of one hundred and thirty-three foot in front. Since built. To commence at midsummer, 1670.	£30 0 0
1 and 2.	Henry Earl of Arlington holdeth by Conveyance dated the 27th July, 1665. His proportion of the £80 a year rent is £5 16*s.* 8*d.* being 1*s.* 2*d.* a foot.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground of one hundred foot in front on the east side of the Piazza.	Without rent, only covenanting to pay a proportionable part of £80 yearly rent reserved to His Majesty upon my Lord's grant and to pay for sewers and paving.
3.	Edward Shaw holdeth by Assurance dated the 14th day of January, 1673. (Now my Lord Cavendish.)	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the east side of the Piazza of fifty foot in front and a piece of ground in the east stable-yard, since built.	£23 4 4
4.	Nicholas Barebone holdeth by Assurance dated the 30th April, 1675.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the east side of the Piazza fifty-two foot in front, and three pieces of ground in the east stable-yard, since built.	£28 12 8
5.	George Clisby holdeth by Assurance dated the 2nd day of April, 1675.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the north side of the Piazza fifty foot in front, since built.	£15 8 4

Correspond-modern numbering, etc.	The names of the tenants and dates of their leases.	The particulars devised and places where they lie.	The yearly rents reserved.
6.	Abraham Storey holdeth by Assurance dated the 2nd of April, 1675.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the north side of the Piazza fifty foot in front, since built.	£15 8 4
7.	John Angier holdeth by Assurance dated the — day of —	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the north side of the said Piazza fifty foot in front, since built.	£15 8 4
8.	His Excellency Monsieur Courtin, the French Ambassador, payeth for his Lordship's House situate on the north side of the Piazza on the east corner of York Street there by the year by quarterly payments.	—	£400 0 0
12.	Sir Cyril Wyche, Knight, holdeth by Assurance dated the 2nd day of July, 1675.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the north side of the Piazza of thirty-six foot in front, since built.	£11 2 0
13.	Sir Thomas Clarges holdeth by Assurance dated the 11th day of June, 1675.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the north side of the Piazza of forty-seven foot in front and a piece of ground in the east stable-yard of thirty-six foot in front.	£19 17 10
14.	Richard Frith holdeth by Assurance dated the 14th day of June, 1673. (Now Sir Fulke Lucy.)	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza of twenty-seven foot in front with another little piece of ground three foot in front.	£9 5 0

Corresponding modern numbering, etc.	The names of the tenants and dates of their leases.	The particulars devised and places where they lie.	The yearly rents reserved.
15.	The same Richard Frith holdeth by like Assurance dated the 14th day of June, 1673.	The fee and inheritance of another piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza of forty-three foot in front, since built.	£13 5 2
16.	The Honble. Mr. Thomas Jermyn holdeth by Assurance dated the — day of —, 1670.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza fifty foot in front, since built by Mr. Angier.	£3 0 0
17 and 18.	The Right Honble. George, Viscount Halifax holdeth by Assurance dated the 24th March, 1669.	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza eighty foot in front, since built. The rent to commence at midsummer, 1670.	£24 12 0
20.	Abraham Storey holdeth by Assurance dated the 14th day of January, 1674. (Now Sir Peter Apsley's.)	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the said Piazza forty-four foot in front, since built.	£13 11 4
21.	Robert Werden Esquire holdeth by Assurance dated the 14th of June, 1673. (In trust for Mrs. Churchill.)	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza of fifty-eight foot in front, since built.	£17 17 8
Part of the Army and Navy Club.	Edward Shaw holdeth by Assurance dated the — day of —, 1672. (Now Mrs. Davis.)	The fee and inheritance of a piece of ground on the west side of the Piazza forty-three foot in front, since built.	£13 5 2

In this most interesting MS. we have a record of nineteen houses either built or planned, and the explanation of the differences between the two authorities would seem to be as follows. The four houses


[13] Sir. Thomas Clarges. 47 feet
[12] Sir. Cyril Wyche. 36 feet
[Nos. 11 10 9] Earl of St. Albans' own house, afterwards Ormond House 120 feet
YORK STREET
[8] French Embassy. 58 feet
[7] John Angier. 50 feet
[6] Abraham Story. 50 feet
[5] George Clisby. 50 feet
[14] Sir. Fulke Lucy 27 ft.
[15] Richard Frith 43 feet
[16] Hon. Thomas Jermyn 50 feet
[17] [18] Lord Halifax 80 feet
N.
52 feet
50 feet
100 feet
KING STREET
W.
E.
[19] Site not yet appropriated 55 feet
[20] Sir. Peter Apsley 44 feet
[21] Arabella Churchill 58 feet
Army & Navy Club Mrs. Mary Davis 43 feet
S.
133 feet
[Old St. Albans House]
65 feet
Back of Houses in North Row of Pall Mall Street

ALLOCATION OF BUILDING SITES IN THE SQUARE, 1676.

mentioned in the rate-book as being at the south-eastern corner of the Square represent the site of Lord St. Albans's original house (which had a frontage of sixty-five feet), and the large plot of land to the northward of it acquired by Lord Bellasis. The remainder of the eastern side lying to the north of Charles Street, (which side from the rate-book would appear to have been still unfinished in 1676) included the sites allotted in the rent-roll to the Earl of Arlington, and to the builder Nicholas Barebone or Barbon, the latter erecting for the Earl of Kent, in 1676-7, the house now owned by Earl Cowper. The houses on the north terrace occupied by Lord Clarendon, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Lawrence Hyde, represent the names in the rent-roll of George Clisby (another builder), Sir Cyril Wyche, and Sir Thomas Clarges. Sir Fulke Lucy's name occurs in both authorities and his house was that now numbered 14 and the London Library, with a frontage of only twenty-seven feet towards the Square. Abraham Storey's name in the rent-roll represents No. 6 of the present day (Marquis of Bristol), he erecting a house here for John Hervey of Ickworth, Treasurer and Receiver General to Katherine of Braganza, at a cost of £5,100. This John Hervey had previously obtained a leasehold interest in St. James's Fields at an even earlier date than that of Lord St. Albans's first connection with the same Crown property. No. 7, first built by John Angier, was, like the last house, unfinished for rateable purposes in 1676. The French Ambassa-

dor's house (now No. 8) although mentioned in the rent-roll does not appear in the rate-book for 1676 ; and Lord St. Albans's unfinished mansion on the north (known subsequently as Ormond House and occupying the sites of Nos. 9, 10, and 11 of our day) would naturally not appear in his own terrier ; in 1677 and thenceforward it is duly entered in the parochial books. The five remaining houses mentioned in the rate-book for 1676 were all on the west side. Of these Lord Purbeck's (probably, from the high assessment, originally intended to cover the site of both No. 15 and No. 16 of the present numbering) corresponds with the names of Richard Frith, the builder, and the Honourable Thomas Jermyn in the rent-roll. Lord Halifax's double house at the north-east corner of King Street (covering the site of Nos. 17 and 18) appears in both authorities. No. 19 is omitted in both, the site being as yet unappropriated though soon afterwards granted to the Earl of Essex on his return from Ireland. The Apsleys appear in each record for No. 20, as do Arabella Churchill and Moll Davis for No. 21 and a part of the site of the Army and Navy Club respectively.

It will be seen therefore that in the earliest years of its existence the new Square attracted to itself representatives of the great territorial families of Bellasis, Cavendish, De Vere, Grey, Hervey, and Savile. These, with the Hydes, the Jermyns, and the Bennets, will be more particularly alluded to in the course of this work. Of the remainder Lady

Warwick was the daughter of the celebrated parliamentary general, the Earl of Manchester, who married no fewer than five wives and yet lived long enough to enjoy various places of profit under the Crown which he had formerly worked so hard to upset. Sir Cyril Wyche, one of eight residents in the Square who have filled the distinguished post of President of the Royal Society, was connected with Lord St. Albans by marriage. Having previously been secretary to Ormond when Viceroy of Ireland, he was made a Lord Justice of that country in 1693. Dying in 1707 he was buried in St. James's Church, and an extensive library which he had formed was sold by auction at Exeter Change in 1710. Sir Fulke Lucy was one of the new Parliament men, and Sir Allen Apsley was the Keeper of the King's hawks and Treasurer of the Household to the Duke of York. He represented the borough of Thetford, and Pepys, in a remarkable passage which many will think not wholly inapplicable to the Mother of Parliaments in our own day, tells us that his behaviour at Westminster was not always irreproachable. "Sir R. Ford did make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me how Sir Allen Brodrick and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House

and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace." (December 19th, 1666.) It was in Sir Allen's house that the Duke of York slept on his sudden return to England (on the King's being taken ill in 1679) before proceeding to Windsor.[1]

Arabella Churchill before reaching her twentieth year became a Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, an appointment which led to her forming a less creditable connection with that lady's husband. De Grammont speaks of her as "a tall creature, pale faced, nothing but skin and bone"; but in spite of this unprepossessing description it is usually supposed that Marlborough owed much of his early advancement to her influence, and to her house here he must frequently have come from his own lodgings in Jermyn Street. Madam Davis, the only remaining resident in the south-west corner, was the sprightly young actress and dancer whose antics on the stage made the pulse of our friend Pepys beat quicker as he sat in the pit of Old Drury, marking time with his foot as he applauded the measure. Naïve and flippant on the stage, what she lacked in beauty she made up for in agility. Her picture by Lely in the National Portrait Gallery makes her features so little pleasing that one would think they would have proved an impediment to frailty; but that this was not the case must be set down the fact that the standard of

[1] *Hatton Correspondence;* Camden Society, i., 191.

female grace and beauty as invariably depicted by Lely and his contemporaries, to wit, "the sleepy eye which spoke the melting soul," has undergone a complete transformation since the seventeenth century.[1]

With the establishment of the Square and the adjacent streets as a centre of fashionable life Lord St. Albans seems to have endeavoured to convert his speculation into a monopoly, for on March 11th, 1677, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, presumably at his instance, to prevent the erection of any new buildings in London, unless their foundations had been laid before that date or contracted for prior to the following Christmas,—any houses built contrary to such order to be demolished. The Bill, however, failed to secure general approval, and the expansion of western London suffered no such disastrous check as was then sought to be imposed.

[1] Moll Davis was the creator of the part of Celania in Davenant's *Rivals* an alteration of the older play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Downes in his entertaining *Roscius Anglicanus* states that she enacted the part of a "shepherdess mad for love," but this was not so, as a comparison with the printed text of the play will prove. Her daughter by the King married the second Earl of Derwentwater, and became the mother of the Jacobite Lord beheaded on Tower Hill.

CHAPTER III

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE SECOND

Let us picture to ourselves, with the assistance of contemporary chroniclers, a royal perambulation of the "great Square in St. James's Fields" (as it gradually came to be called when the un-English word "piazza" fell into disuse) on a summer's day in the year 1683. This particular year has been deliberately chosen because it was the time of all others when Charles's power was the most absolute. After the fall of Clarendon the King had mainly controlled the Cabal government through Arlington, Shaftesbury, Danby, and Temple. All had their day as nominal leaders, though each had been more or less hampered by an inconvenient House of Commons or by an unruly section of its members; but now, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament and the flight of Shaftesbury, Charles, who had recovered much of his old popularity in the country since the exposure of the Rye House plot, felt himself strong enough to stand alone.

Taking for his watchword "Never insist," he yet

aspired to rule autocratically if he could, and only to follow where he could not lead; and it must be admitted that on the whole he found this plan work very well, from his point of view. Burned out of Newmarket in the spring, he spent much of his time in London this summer, entrusting the direction of his affairs mainly to Halifax (who had graduated under Shaftesbury), and in a lesser degree to Lawrence Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, though the two ministers did not always agree very well together.

This was essentially the period of Tory reaction, when the King, acting chiefly on the advice of the aforesaid statesmen and of the acute intriguer Sunderland, who had gradually strengthened his position at Court, determined to dispense with the services of a Parliament altogether, since the last had proved none too compliant; to institute a repressive policy towards the City party formerly led by Shaftesbury; and to replenish if possible the royal purse by the enforced surrender of the existing Corporation Charters, thereafter only to be graciously renewed on payment of a heavy fine.

The easy-going King, who would probably be accompanied by the indispensable Will Chiffinch, after sauntering from Whitehall through St. James's Park would pass through the Palace in which he was born in order to enter Pall Mall. Looking up at St. James's we hear him say to his companion: "The astrologers tell me that, when first I saw the light of day, the star of Venus was in the ascendant, and what

man dare assert that I have not done my best to keep it there ever since!" After stopping to chat with the Duchess of Mazarin about the gains and losses of the previous night at her basset-table, or dallying awhile with Nell Gwynne in Pall Mall to hear the latest and most piquant gossip, he would, at the outset of his morning stroll, naturally turn into the Square at its south-west corner, and in all probability (Chiffinch having first been deputed to ascertain whether the lady was yet up, for Charles was notoriously an early riser,) make a halt at what was in those days the first house on his left hand.

This was now tenanted by little Moll Davis, whose fascinating rendering of the old song, "My lodging is on the cold ground," had some years before so captivated the King as to procure her rapid elevation from that uncomfortable resting place, to what may be styled a *vice*-regal establishment. So at least we read in the *Roscius Anglicanus*, but by this time she had been ousted by others in Charles's affections, and her star being well-nigh set, the King would not tarry here long. Continuing his progress northwards, Sir Joseph Williamson's house would next be reached. As one of his former ministers and a creature of Arlington's throughout his official career, Charles might condescend to pay him a brief ceremonial visit; but there was not much in common between the sovereign and the subject in this instance, so we pass on to Sir Allen Apsley at No. 20 (now Sir W. Williams Wynn's). He

was, however, more of an adherent of the Duke of York, to whom he was Treasurer of the Household, than of Charles himself, and perhaps therefore at this time Sir Allen would be more or less tainted with the suspicion that undoubtedly attached to his next-door neighbour, "a hound out of the same pack," as Chiffinch in his coarse manner describes Lord Essex in conversation with Charles. The ill-fated peer, who then lived at what was afterwards to be known as Cleveland House, is described by Evelyn, as "A sober, wise, judicious and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age [a somewhat sweeping pronouncement by the way], industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished." A few weeks later he was to be hurried to the Tower on a charge of being implicated in the Popish Plot. In that fortress, and before he could be brought to trial, he was found one morning with his throat cut, not without strong suspicions of foul play. A report was therefore assiduously circulated that he had committed suicide in a fit of melancholy, to which he was known to be subject.

Crossing King Street, the King would arrive at Halifax House, the double-sized mansion which was so long the home of the Savile family, at the head of which now stood the celebrated Trimmer, who was alternately Lord Privy Seal and President of the Council under three such widely different masters as Charles the Second, James the Second,

and William the Third. An amusing hoax, of which he was the victim about this time, has recently been published in the Rutland papers by the Historical Manuscripts Commission where, in a gossiping letter from Lady Campden, we read that some malicious persons ingeniously printed funeral cards and dispersed them among the nobility, desiring them to send their coaches on a day named to St. James's Square, to accompany the body of Lord Halifax out of town. At this particular period he was Charles's most trusted adviser, and both in genius and capacity he outshone all the ministers of this reign. Sunderland was too notoriously shifty, and Rochester now rather too much disposed to favour the Duke of York's views, to retain Charles's entire confidence. With no Parliament in session there were no measures to be forced upon an unwilling Lower House, and in those days of Tory revival the King's only immediate care, as indeed it was throughout his reign, was the raising of supplies independently of the ordinary constitutional methods which had been tried and pronounced wanting. While thus engaged in recruiting the royal purse, Halifax was careful to play off Monmouth against the Duke of York at Court so that the adherents of neither should interfere with his own ascendency ; and though the former had absconded on the exposure of the Popish Plot, the crafty minister persuaded the King to recall him before the year was out.

But leaving politics for persons we will accompany the King further in his perambulation of the Square. At what is now No. 16 and a portion of the East India United Service Club lived the Earl of Suffolk, of whom we know little, except that it was to his house at Audley End that Charles removed after the great fire which took place at Newmarket in March this year, a disaster, by the way, which is said to have been the means of preventing a still greater one; the plot to murder the King at the Rye House being frustrated owing to the premature removal of the Court to London.

Next to Lord Suffolk, in a house which *La Belle Stewart*, another old love of the King's, had formerly occupied, now lived the Earl of Kildare, who was soon after to wed the Lady Elizabeth Jones, daughter of Lord Ranelagh, herself a resident in the Square and one of the most beautiful young women of the time. Her features are preserved to us in Williams's mezzotint engraving after one of Wissing's best portraits. In this she is represented in a low dress with a bewitching hat, looped up on one side with a bunch of flowers, and almost as wide as the famous cartwheel worn by Nell Gwynne on the stage when delivering the prologue to one of Dryden's plays.[1] Lady Kildare's many charms have

[1] Nell's hat was, however, a deliberate caricature of the French fashions brought over by the Duchess of Orleans and her suite, and what was then regarded as extravagant may well have become the normal mode when Lady Kildare's picture was painted.

been sung by St. Evremond, and by Lord Lansdowne in his *Progress of Beauty*. Either she or one of her unmarried sisters is believed to have attained the dignity of being numbered among the King's many mistresses, which may perhaps account for her father having been continued in office after embezzling large sums of the public money in Ireland, where he was Vice-Treasurer. Lady Kildare died in 1758 at the great age of ninety-three, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, within a stone's throw of her old admirer, so unceremoniously bundled into his grave at dead of night two years after our imaginary visit to the Square in his company.

We now come to the last house on the west side and at the top corner. This, in 1683, was in the occupation of Lord Downe, who as Sir John Dawnay sat for Pontefract in several Parliaments but was not otherwise prominent in London society at this time.

At what is now No. 13 and the Windham Club lived Sir John Williams, a Dorsetshire baronet, and his mother, a daughter of Sir Thomas Skipwith. Lady Williams, who is said to have been an intimate friend of the Duke of York and a more than suspected harbourer of Papists, is referred to in one of Nell Gwynne's few extant letters in terms of easy familiarity, a fact which lends some colour to her supposed connection with the King's brother, who, if not quite so promiscuous in his amours, was quite as indiscreet as Charles himself. We know also that

other ladies under his protection were established in the Square at an early period of its history, obtaining their houses on exceptionally favourable terms through the influence of the Court. At her death Lady Williams found a last resting-place in Westminster Abbey, wherein indeed were laid many of the residents in the Square, famous, infamous, or insignificant, who happened to die in town previous to the erection of St. James's Church.

Coming now to No. 12 we find the name of a man with whom the King must have had much in common, Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and an old cavalier of nearly as dissolute habits as Charles himself.[1]

The great house which stood next to Lord Oxford's, with a frontage of no less than one hundred and twenty feet towards the Square, was Ormond House, where Charles must have been a constant visitor when Harry Jermyn occupied it, but, on the latter's retirement from London in the course of this year, the Duke of Ormond came here from Piccadilly. The great Barzillai, abandoning Irish politics for the time, was again a favourite at Court, but as it is doubtful whether he had yet replaced Jermyn in the Square, we will cross York Street, and draw up at No 8, the residence of Sir Cyril Wyche. He was

[1] Lord Oxford's daughter and eventual heiress married the King's son by Nell Gwynne, the first Duke of St. Albans, some ten or eleven years later.

elected President of the Royal Society this year, and therefore Charles, who was fond of dabbling in science, especially in its bearings on navigation, provided that it cost him nothing, may have paid Sir Cyril a formal visit as in the case of Sir Joseph Williamson. In his capacity of president Sir Cyril is anxious that the King should honour the meeting of the society at Gresham College that afternoon, when a pretty experiment is to be made with the *larmes de verre*, or Prince Rupert's Drops, and when Hooke, Boyle, and other lights of science are expected to lecture on the recently discovered marvels of the air-pump. Charles, however, is unable to promise to attend, as he hopes to see Betterton in a new part if his engagements should permit of his reaching the theatre in time. Taking leave of Sir Cyril, he would find himself in much more congenial company next door, where (at what is now No. 7) dwelt the Earl of Ranelagh, of whose character and circumstances some hint has already been given. However, at the time of which we write he had the King's entire confidence and approbation, although his defalcations had thus early been brought to light. One of his fair daughters (whom Charles has come to invite to a ball at Whitehall that night, to be given perhaps in honour of the betrothal of the Lady Anne to the Prince of Denmark,) was carrying on a dangerous intrigue with the King at the time, so we must leave him in the toils of Venus for a while, and look in upon Lord Dartmouth at No. 6.

This house, which was, and still is, the freehold of the Hervey family, was in the temporary possession of Colonel George Legge, the first of his name to be ennobled. About this time he was deputed by Charles to dismantle the defences of Tangier ; an irreparable loss, since on the acquisition of Gibraltar in after years, England, with Tangier as well in her possession, would have held in her grasp the only really effective key to the Mediterranean. Its abandonment, however, was probably only finally decided upon when it became absolutely necessary to reduce the public expenditure within the narrowest limits, there being no longer any opportunity of wringing money out of a reluctant House of Commons towards its equipment. After the King's death, Lord Dartmouth removed to Whitehall where James gave him the Duke of Monmouth's old lodgings; but the change of abode brought him no good luck, as in the next reign he was apprehended on a charge of high treason and committed to the Tower, where he died.

Now, tearing Charles from the allurements of Lord Ranelagh's domestic circle, we may hurry him past the next house eastward of Lord Dartmouth's, now the Earl of Strafford's, but then inhabited by the Countess of Thanet, widow of the Earl of that name who was imprisoned in the Tower by Cromwell. Lady Thanet is at the window to see the King go by, and, at the sight of Chiffinch, indignantly exclaims that his royal father kept better

company, and that through the influence of these loose companions the country will again be undone. At No. 4 would have been found the Earl of Kent, but except as the titular head of the powerful family of Grey, whose descendant in the female line still holds this valuable property, his public career calls for no comment. He died suddenly, while playing bowls at Tunbridge Wells in 1702, and his successor in the family honours will be more particularly alluded to on a later page.

At the next inhabited house to the Earl of Kent lived a man with whose family the King had long been on terms of the very closest intimacy, that is to say, John, Lord Ossulston, Arlington's elder brother. He was also one of the earliest residents in the Square, and at a time when his house could have been hardly finished, in 1677, it is recorded in the Belvoir MSS. that it was hired by Lord Purbeck, a wild young rake, for a masquerade ball to which none but debauchees of both sexes, or as Carlyle would have said, "the blackguard quality," were invited. Empty houses in the West End of London are, as we know, sometimes hired nowadays for the purposes of co-operative as well as individual hospitality, but the entertainments given in them fortunately in no wise resemble the mad revels organised by the Scourers and Mohocks of an earlier time. The ground on which Lord Ossulston's house stood had a frontage of no less than a hundred feet towards the Square, and is identical with the building-plot

conveyed to Arlington by Lord St. Albans as early as 1665, which, as we have seen, was the year in which the latter obtained the freehold from the Crown. Arlington, however, seems never to have lived here, preferring Goring House in close proximity to the Mulberry Garden, although it will have been seen from Lord St. Albans's rent-roll that he was exceptionally favoured in the original allocation of sites in the Square, as the freehold was conveyed to him without, as in other cases, the grantee becoming liable to any ground-rent, he only covenanting "to pay a proportionable part of £80 yearly rent reserved to his Majesty upon my Lord's grant, and to pay for sewers and paving." The stipulation as regards paving the roadway in front of the dwelling-house was probably inspired by the King's stay in the Low Countries, where the neat condition of the streets and squares (who that knows them does not admire the clinkered alleys of the Hague?) may have excited a desire on his part to introduce a similar convenience into his own capital. Lord Ossulston's niece, and Arlington's only daughter, had been given in marriage at the tender age of twelve to the King's son, the Duke of Grafton, in the previous year. A few years later this hot-tempered young man fought a desperate duel in Chelsea Fields with Mr. Jack Talbot, in which the latter was killed on the spot and the Duke severely wounded. Soon after his early death, from wounds received at the siege of Cork by Marlborough in 1690, his young widow

came to live in the Square, at No. 3, next door to her uncle at Ossulston House.

Crossing Charles Street we meet with Lord Cavendish at the south-east corner (now Derby House), a son-in-law of Ormond, and afterwards the first Duke of Devonshire. As he now laboured under suspicion of being concerned in the Whig Plot with Lord Russell, and had in consequence ceased to be a member of the Privy Council, we may pass on to what is now London House, but which was then in the occupation of the Countess of Warwick.

The only two remaining inhabitants of the south-east corner of the Square (where Norfolk House now stands) were both of them the King's ministers; Sir John Ernley his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Earl of Conway, who became a principal Secretary of State in succession to Sunderland.[1]

Having thus completed the circuit of the Square, we will now follow the King back through Pall Mall into St. James's Park. Softly humming to himself

[1] Sir John Ernley, one of the few public men whose name is missing from that monumental work *The Dictionary of National Biography*, was a member of an old Wiltshire family who succeeded Sir John Duncombe as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1676. He was a frequent speaker in the Oxford Parliament on the question of the exclusion of the Duke of York, whose succession to the throne, as apart from the administration, he supported. For his pedigree see La Neve's *Pedigrees of the Knights*, Harleian Society, 8, 199.

his favourite tune of *Cuckolds all awry* (an old English ditty with a theme on which no one was better qualified to express an opinion than the King himself) he may perhaps stop, on the leisurely completion of this metropolitan Rowley's Mile (to adapt to our present purpose the then recently coined nomenclature of Newmarket Heath), to drink a class of red cow's milk at the Spring Garden corner of the Park (then a favourite rendezvous for the fashion and frailty of both sexes) ; or he may end his morning in watching his gallants amusing themselves at the game of paille-maille, known to us only in our own day by its attenuated and degenerate successor croquet, a nerveless pastime which bears about the same resemblance to the parent game as does lawn-tennis to its nobler and more scientific prototype.

From the Park Charles would turn into Whitehall by a passage leading past Miss Kirke's old lodgings,[1] and regaining the Palace by a gate nearly opposite to the Tilt Yard, would rejoin his neglected

[1] When Moll Kirke was turned out of St. James's in 1675, she went to live at a very private sanctuary in Whitehall, close to Henry Savile, the brother of Halifax. In 1677 she married Sir Thomas Vernon of Hodnett, in Shropshire. Successive editors of Grammont's Memoirs have sought to confound her with a Miss Warminster, or Warmistre, but without any justification. Her name only appears once in the lists of the Royal households given by Edward Chamberlayne in his *Angliæ Notitia*, *i.e.* in 1674 when she is said to have been a Maid of Honour to the late Duchess of York. Her sister, Diana Kirke, married the Earl of Oxford in 1679.

Queen, compelled to spend much of her time in the society of maids of tarnished honour such as the Duchess of Cleveland, and parasites of the Court like the Killigrews.

Crossing the Stone Gallery in order to reach his private apartments, which were near the riverside, the King would be very likely to meet the Duke of York pacing up and down with Samuel Pepys, in earnest conversation on the needs of the Navy and the progress made with the thirty new ships ordered by a recent Parliament for the security of the realm. The King's interest in England's sovereignty of the seas was one of his redeeming features, and, after greeting his old servant cordially, he would enter on a discussion of naval affairs with intelligence and animation, making mental note of Samuel's capacity for further employment ; and we may be sure that, on his return home, Pepys will make the most of the royal consideration extended to him by both brothers, and of his prospects of rendering further valuable service to the State in the near future.

The King's undoubted popularity, notwithstanding all his extravagances, among the humbler classes, was due in great measure to his being the most accessible monarch within living memory. After dining in public, he would (if time permitted) allow an unwholesome-looking crowd of superstitious invalids, stricken with a sore disease, to be admitted to his presence, in order that he might touch them for the evil, and send them away happy with their *angelots*

round their necks. This object-lesson in faith-healing concluded, the King and Queen would honour Drury Lane Theatre with a visit, perhaps driving thence to the Ring in Hyde Park, to take the air or to witness a horse-race. Tom Jermyn, St. Albans's nephew, was a famous rider and fond of matching himself against time for a substantial wager, and the Duke of York had a running footman who was regarded as a prodigy of fleetness. At nightfall the Ring grows deserted as the royal party return to Whitehall; and an hour or two later many a well-appointed coach, each with its equipment of liverymen, rolls heavily into the courtyard of the Palace from divers parts of Westminster, from Spring Gardens, from Leicester Fields, and from the new West End of the town. Among the number are certain to be some from St. James's Square. Thence would come Lord Ranelagh with his handsome daughter (the Lady Elizabeth Jones, for she is not yet Countess of Kildare,) glad enough of an opportunity to show her proficiency in the steps of the stately minuet, even if she must plead guilty to an occasional *faux pas* in another respect. Halifax might wish to show himself at Court on his recent promotion to the rank of a Marquis: Lord Suffolk, an old courtier now, would bring his newly-wedded bride; and some of the Bennet family, either Lord Arlington or his brother Lord Ossulston, and the Duke of Grafton with his child-wife are sure to be of the company.

Soon after their arrival at Inigo Jones's noble Banqueting House, the first of our public buildings in Portland stone, the Queen enters with Charles and the Duke and Duchess of York, and seats herself on the daïs at the farther end. And, in spite of her prominent teeth, we may note that she has a kindly smile for all, and produces a pleasing impression, for without being clever or brilliant, she has, what must often have stood her in good stead in the land of her adoption, tact, discernment, and patience.

Up in the Musicians' Gallery the fiddles begin to squeak not later than ten o'clock, for Court balls did not often last beyond midnight in those days, a commendable example of early hours which we in the nineteenth century should do well to imitate. Dancing would begin, as over the water, with a *branle*, a measure popularised in this country by the graceful musical settings of Lully and Couperin. Then would come a *coranto*, a kind of quick step not very dissimilar to the *branle* ; and next a minuet would be commanded in which the royal family would take part. Charles was passionately fond of music and dancing, as indeed are most men of his peculiar temperament ; and in his reign the royal private band was much augmented and improved. In one of the pauses between the dances the Lord Privy Seal (Halifax) makes bold to tell his master that, without summoning a Parliament, even a moderate expenditure on the part of the Court can-

not be met much longer. To this Charles demurs. "Supposing for a moment," he says, "that we do have a new Parliament, 'tis no certainty, I take it, that it will grant me the money I want. It may well prove as untractable as its predecessors. We have sold Dunkirk and far too cheaply, and we are now prepared to abandon Tangier; what a pity 'tis we have not still got Calais to sell, the loss of which Harry Jermyn has often told me that his grandfather well remembered, and what mortification it caused Queen Mary at the time, though to be sure it was no real loss to England. I only wish I had it now, for Louis would give far more for it than the beggarly sum he paid for Dunkirk, which town also we are better without, in my opinion. Think too what it must have cost to keep up the establishment of a place like Calais! an annual drain on the Exchequer of £100,000 and more; money that would far better be spent at home. We have abolished Purveyance and given the people the Habeas Corpus Act; what more can they want? Then too we have harried the Nonconformists to please the Churchmen, and assented to the Test Act to gratify the hatred of both persuasions for the Roman Catholics. However, if you think I must call a new Parliament, I will ask 'Hushai, the friend of David in distress,' as that impudent fellow Dryden has dubbed him, what he thinks about it, [well knowing that the minister would advise against such a step], and if the thing cannot be helped, we must see what steps can be

taken to prevent too many Whigs from being chosen in the country; and then perhaps, when once more I meet my faithful Commons, something can be squeezed out of them to keep the wolf from the door." Halifax bows and retires, as the band strikes up a lively country dance and gallants choose their fair partners for this favourite measure, since there were no jerky polkas or romping lancers in those days, and the waltz was a thing not yet dreamed of. But if the floor of the ball-room was well suited to its purpose, it must be owned that the lighting arrangements of the seventeenth century left much to be desired, even at Whitehall. A few silver candelabra on the mantelpieces, some spluttering flambeaux held by the Yeomen of the Guard (resplendent in their scarlet *hoquetons* and puffed velvet sleeves) stationed at the corners of the great hall, and a single crystal chandelier in the centre, provided an indifferent light, and at the same time a good deal of smoke.

To specify the best dancers at Court would be to name Sir Edward Villiers (the Knight-Marshal) and, in her younger days at all events, the Duchess of Cleveland. Miss Fraser, a lady in waiting to the Duchess of York, was long one of the most admired beauties at Whitehall, and one of the best-dressed members of the royal household, although she was only the daughter of a doctor. At one of these same Court festivities a few years earlier she is said to have worn a dress of black velvet, ermine, and cloth of

gold, the cost of which her envious companions computed at £800, throwing out dark hints at the same time that such an outlay could never have been honestly come by. The young lady's extravagance so frightened Sir Carr Scroop, who was in love with her at the time, that he straightway abandoned his matrimonial intentions. The Duchess of Cleveland would affect a coif of pure white *crêpe* studded with precious stones to surmount her ample tresses, an alluring combination of simplicity and ill-gotten wealth which never failed to produce its effect on the beholder.

But the night wears on, and, after supper has been served in one of the galleries of the Palace, the lights begin to burn low and the dancers to tire with their exertions, whereon the Queen withdraws to her own apartments, thus giving the signal for the company to disperse. One by one the coaches rumble away into the distance, but one at least of the departing guests, a great favourite at Court, the young Earl of Arundel, can return to his home by the silent highway of the Thames. For though the ancestral town house of the Dukes of Norfolk is now fallen from its former high estate, since whole streets of new houses are springing up on the site of its once extensive gardens, St. Clement Danes has not even yet been finally deserted by the family for St. James's. Only to-night the King has been telling the young Lord (already, in his father's lifetime, Constable of Windsor and Lord-Lieutenant of two or three counties) how

far more conveniently situated is the new West End piazza than the neighbourhood of the Strand for the Court at Whitehall ; and so, in the course of the very next year we find him (on succeeding to the dukedom) occupying Lord Conway's old house in the Square, the freehold of which was in after years to be acquired by the next Duke of Norfolk. But at the time of which we speak, perhaps the very last sound which the drowsy sentinels by the waterside will hear is the plash of oars breaking in upon the stillness of the summer night, as my Lord is borne swiftly away down stream to be landed at Arundel Stairs by the stalwart watermen who wear the livery of the Howards.

Although it is summer-time, the King will very likely be going out of town on a hunting expedition to Hampton Court or Windsor in the very early hours of the morning.[1] So, with the extinction of the lights and the hushing of the sounds of revelry, we will leave him to his short night's rest and drop the curtain on this long day's work in the careless, pleasurable life of the second Charles.

[1] In the seventeenth century it was a common practice in summer to weed out the "rascal" deer (the lean animals not worth preserving either for the chase or for venison) by driving them, with the aid of specially trained hounds, past a "standing," placed in a forest glade or park lawn, upon which the marksman was stationed.

DISPLAY OF FIREWORKS IN THE SQUARE AFTER THE TAKING OF NAMUR.

[*From a Mezzotint by* B. Lens. 1695.]

CHAPTER IV

GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE SQUARE

The open space in the centre of St. James's Square was neither paved nor lighted in the early days of its existence, the residents not seeing any necessity for a departure from the precedent established in the case of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the centre of which then, and for many years after, lay waste.

Lord St. Albans, on granting a building site here to Lord Bellasis so early as 1669, had indeed made it a stipulation that he should pave the intended piazza sixty feet in breadth in front of the house he designed to erect with "square Purbeck stones;" but probably all that was done was to make a raised pavement for foot-passengers around the Square, protected from the carriage-way by posts and chains; the whole of the centre being left uneven and neglected, though here and there a tree remained, as if to emphasise the former rural character of the neighbourhood.

In the seventeenth century this open space was frequently utilised for the exhibition of fireworks, just as similar displays were presented in Covent

Garden on the public rejoicings after the Battle of the Boyne.

That it was a somewhat lonely place in William the Third's reign we gather from the invaluable Luttrell, who states that a gentleman crossing the Square about noonday had two pistols clapped to his breast, and was relieved of £3 which he had about him, though it is added that this occurred on a foggy day when several other robberies were committed in London. Lord Romney, William the Third's Master of the Ordnance, seems to have had a positive genius for pyrotechnics; and grander displays than had ever yet been seen in England took place here in 1695 under his direction, when the King himself was present at the house of his favourite (No. 16) to witness a representation of the storming of Namur. Yet another public rejoicing occurred in the Square after the peace of Ryswick, when Luttrell says that the cost of the display amounted to no less than £10,000; but this must surely have been an exaggeration. Preparations for it were commenced long beforehand by the chief engineer at the Tower, Sir Martin Beckman, who is said to have told the Master of the Ordnance, in the coarse humour of the period, that "he would not see better fire in hell." An eye-witness, writing to Christopher, Viscount Hatton, certainly did not consider these fireworks worth anything like so much as is said to have been spent upon them. There was, to be sure, an emblematical device, whence, "*Peace*, out of a cornucopia

flung out rockets of wild fire; *Conduct* (?) had a death's head in one of her hands; *Concord* held in a dish a flaming heart; and *Valour* had by it a ravenous lion;" but he adds that it all "ended in smoke and stink" (as indeed is the nature of fireworks) and that Sir Martin Beckman "hath got the curses of a great many, the praises of nobody." The same writer, himself a member of the Hatton family, says that several people were killed on this occasion by the falling rocket-sticks, one of which went right through the roof of Halifax House, frightening a large number of people who had assembled there, at the invitation of the Saviles, to see the rejoicings.[1]

About this time (December, 1697) a movement seems to have sprung up to commemorate King William's victories in a more permanent manner on this very spot; and we read that "The King's statue in brass is ordered to be set up in St. James's Square, with several devices and mottoes trampling down popery, breaking the chains of bondage, slavery, &c." A very long time was however to elapse before this ambitious and laudable intention to adorn the Square was realised. In 1721 the Chevalier de David endeavoured to procure a subscription of £2,500 for the erection here of an equestrian statue of George the First, to be sculptured by himself, but obtaining only £100 he relinquished the design, and returned the money to the subscribers.[2] David, who was a

[1] *Hatton Correspondence*, Camden Society, ii., 230.

[2] Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, 1807; iv., 326.

pupil of Bernini, had executed two marble figures for the garden of St. James's Palace, having been sent over to William by Prince Vaudemont to make the statues and figures with which that King intended to adorn the royal palaces. The next we hear of the scheme is in connection with a legacy left by one Samuel Travers, who, in his will dated July 6th, 1724, said, "I will and bequeath a sufficient sum of money to purchase and erect in St. James's Square, an equestrian statue in brass to the glorious memory of my master King William the Third." Though this loyal bequest was destined to be lost sight of for many years, the serious attention of the principal inhabitants of the Square began soon after to be drawn to the unsightly appearance of the central open space, which had now become the accustomed receptacle of offal, cinders, dead dogs, and all kinds of miscellaneous refuse. In February, 1726, the residents accordingly petitioned Parliament for leave to bring in a Bill to enable the present and future inhabitants of the east, north, and west sides (for the south side was not considered to belong to the Square proper, but rather, as will be afterwards shown, to Pall Mall,) to make a rate on themselves for raising money sufficient to "cleanse, adorn, and beautify" the same and maintain it in repair. The petition alleged that "the ground of the said Square hath for some years past lain, and doth now lie, rude and in great disorder, contrary to the design of King Charles the Second, who granted the soil for erecting of capital buildings

on the east, north, and west parts thereof."[1] The Committee of the House of Commons to whom the petition was referred examined witnesses, one of whom alleged that, in addition to the refuse cast upon the ground causing it to resemble a common dung-hill, a coachmaker had erected a shed in the Square about thirty feet long for the storage of timber. This encroachment was more than flesh and blood could stand, so we are not surprised to find that the Bill passed rapidly through both Houses, and received the royal assent on April 26th, 1726.

By its provisions the Dukes of Norfolk, Kent Cleveland, and Chandos, Lords Pembroke, Lincoln, Clarendon, Portmore, Strafford, Tankerville, Bristol, Mountrath, Palmerston, and Bathurst, Sir Spencer Compton, Sir Matthew Decker, Thomas Scawen, Samuel Trotman, and George Clarges, were appointed trustees for putting it into execution. It provided, among other things, that any one "annoying the Square" after the 1st of May, 1726, by depositing therein filth, forfeited twenty shillings; any one making an encroachment thereon forfeited £50; that no hackney-coach should ply therein under a penalty of ten shillings, but should, "as soon as such coachman has set down his fare, drive out of the same," which last provision would nowadays be thought highly inconvenient. The rate to be levied on the houses, to pay for the intended improvements, was not to exceed ten shillings a foot yearly; empty houses, or

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, xx., 590.

houses occupied by ambassadors, &c., were to have their rates paid by the landlord; the Square was to be thenceforward exempt from scavengers' rates, and in return the parish was to be exonerated from removing filth, &c., therefrom. The inhabitants were also empowered by the Act to advance and pay to the trustees the sum of £6,000 to purchase annuities for thirty-two years, &c.

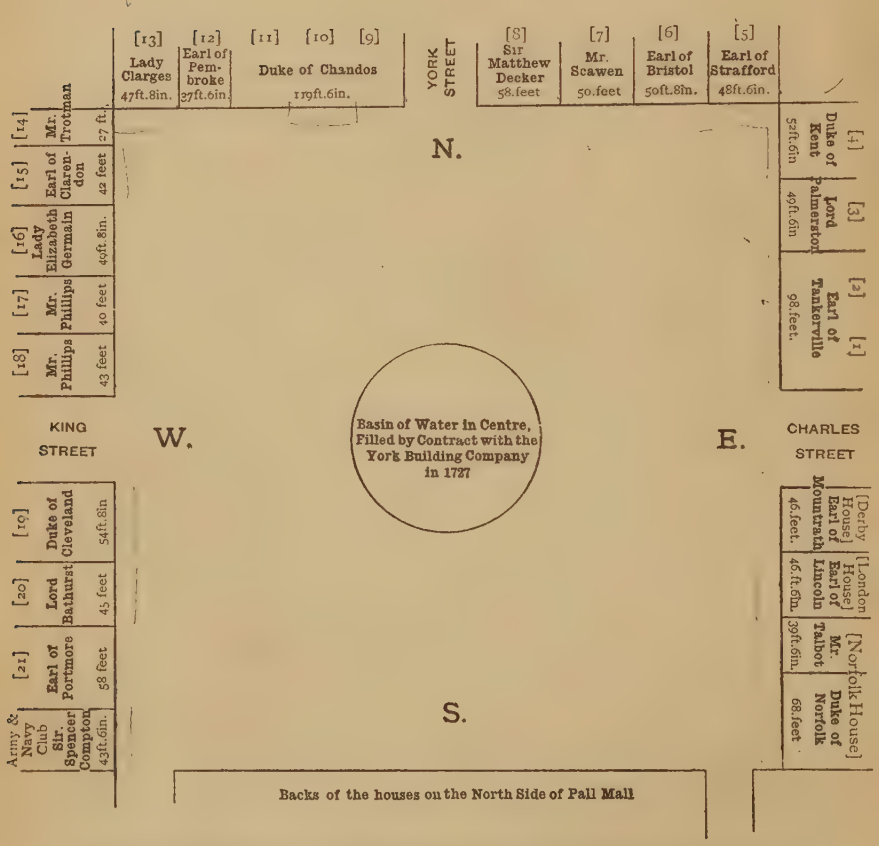
The interesting minutes of the Commissioners' meetings, preserved by Lord Bristol, give us an insight into the actual state of the Square at this period.

The houses of the Duke of Kent and Lord Tankerville are mentioned as having been recently rebuilt or much altered, and two new houses, which had just been erected on the site of old Halifax House by a builder named Phillips, are specially referred to. In the case of the latter, notice was taken of an attempted encroachment of two foot on the roadway of the Square by bringing forward the iron railings in front of the new buildings. One Sir Thomas Hardy, living in Pall Mall, applied to the Commissioners for leave to deposit materials on the south side of the Square, during the rebuilding of his house there, and was graciously allowed to do so on payment of an acknowledgment-rent. Other inhabitants on the south side were desirous, it appears, of making entrances to their houses from the Square, although the principal entrance-doors really lay in Pall Mall, whereupon Lord Palmerston and Sir

Matthew Decker were deputed to "talk with the inhabitants of the Pall Mall, and consider about what they must pay for the benefit of a door into the Square." Lord Palmerston was also desired by the Board to apply to Samuel Travers's executors, "in relation to the late King William's statue," but no further action seems to have been taken thereon at this time.

Before proceeding to level and pave the Square the Commissioners caused a general survey to be made of the ground within their jurisdiction, and a mark to be set upon each house with the amount of its frontage. A plan (reproduced at page 56) drawn up in pursuance of this order is among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (No. 50243). After the ground had been levelled, and the accumulations of a generation's neglect carted away, the clerk to the Board (one William Benny) was directed to write to the managers of the several waterworks in London (the Chelsea, York Buildings, and New River Companies), inviting them to tender for the supply of water for an ornamental basin and fountain which the Commissioners were about to construct in the centre.

At a meeting of the Board (Lord Palmerston being in the chair) held in the vestry room of St. James's Church on March 27th, 1727, it was resolved: "That a sum not exceeding £5,000 be negotiated by way of annuities for thirty-two years after the rate of seven per cent. per annum; that every one of the inhabitants


[13] Lady Clarges 47ft.8in.
[12] Earl of Pembroke 27ft.6in.
[11] [10] [9] Duke of Chandos 119ft.6in.
YORK STREET
[8] Sir Matthew Decker 58.feet
[7] Mr. Scawen 50.feet
[6] Earl of Bristol 50ft.8in.
[5] Earl of Strafford 48ft.6in.
[14] Mr. Trotman 27 ft.
[15] Earl of Clarendon 42 feet
[16] Lady Elizabeth Germain 40ft.8in.
[17] Mr. Phillips 40 feet
[18] Mr. Phillips 43 feet
N.
[4] Duke of Kent 52ft.6in
[3] Lord Palmerston 49ft.6in
[2] [1] Earl of Tankerville 98.feet.
KING STREET
W.
Basin of Water in Centre, Filled by Contract with the York Building Company in 1727
E.
CHARLES STREET
[19] Duke of Cleveland 54ft.8in
[20] Lord Bathurst 45 feet
[21] Earl of Portmore 58 feet
Army & Navy Club Sir. Spencer Compton 43ft.6in.
S.
[Derby House] Earl of Mountrath 46.feet.
[London House] Earl of Lincoln 46.ft.6in.
Mr. Talbot 39ft.6in.
[Norfolk House] Duke of Norfolk 68.feet.
Backs of the houses on the North Side of Pall Mall

PLAN OF THE SQUARE AT THE PASSING OF THE IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1726.

on the east, north, and west sides of the Square shall have leave to subscribe so much of the annuities in proportion of the breadth of their house as shall be equal to eight shillings per foot, so that a house that measures fifty-two feet and a half in front shall pay yearly £21 and may subscribe £300, and so the rest in proportion, provided they subscribe and pay in their money on or before the 24th of April next, and if the full sum of £5,000 be not subscribed and paid in on the said day then any one or more of the inhabitants may subscribe such deficient sum on or before the 2nd day of May next. And in default of that it shall be open to every one that shall desire to lend their money at the said annuity of seven per cent. for thirty-two years to commence from May 1st, 1727. The money to be paid and to be lodged in the hands of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston and Sir Matthew Decker, Baronet, who are to be a committee for the Commissioners as trustees or cashiers, and are to pay the money to the several uses to be agreed by the said Lords Commissioners. *Ordered* that all the houses be assessed at 8*s.* 6*d.* per foot for 1727, the year beginning May 1st."

The contract for the water-supply was finally awarded to the York Buildings Company, and arrangements were entered into whereby Lady Bradford and Lady Betty Germain, who were both lady householders here and therefore not specifically mentioned in the Act of Parliament, could subscribe to the same conditions as the rest of the inhabitants.

Lord Palmerston and Sir Matthew Decker were also entrusted with the placing of the contract for lighting the Square. A note appended to Lord Bristol's copy of the minutes of this meeting runs, "Your Lordship's subscription or proportion of the £5,000 is computed at £200." In later Acts of Parliament relating to St. James's parish, passed in 1734 and 1761, clauses were inserted specially exempting the Square from their operation. But even when the new lamps were lit and the householders were no longer compelled to trust to the scanty glimmer of the linkman's torch in returning to their homes, the neighbourhood was not altogether without its drawbacks, as the following extract from a contemporary newspaper will show. "On Tuesday night last, between 10 and 11 of the clock, Mr. Rambouilet, Lieutenant of Grenadiers and Quarter-Master of the first regiment of Guards, was set upon by five foot robbers in York Street, near St. James's Square, three of them keeping their pistols presented at his body, while the others rifled him of a diamond ring, a broad piece, two guineas and a half, some medals and a silver watch, together with his hat, periwig and cane; and then commanded him to kneel on the ground while they made off, which he did, but one of the villains turned back suddenly, and cut him on the head with an hanger in a barbarous manner though he did not attempt to rise, and then they all made their escape."[1]

The Commissioners paved the Square all over,

[1] *The London Journal*, No. 420, August 19th, 1727.

with the exception of the space within the rails now set up, which enclosed an ornamental basin of water about one hundred and fifty feet in diameter with an average depth of six or seven feet. The iron railing was octagonal in design, and at each angle was a stone pillar about nine feet high surmounted by a lamp. There was a gravelled walk within the rails about twenty-six feet in breadth from the angles to the margin of the water. The fountain shown in Sutton Nicholls's (altered) view of the Square was apparently not long retained, as in Robert Seymour's continuation of Stow's *Survey of London* (1735) it is stated that a pedestal about fifteen feet square designed for a statue of King William the Third on horseback then occupied the central space. The basin, however, remained after the fountain had been discontinued, if indeed it ever existed except in the imagination of the artist, and on its placid, not to say stagnant, surface is figured a small pleasure-boat. Lincoln's Inn Fields, the largest square in London, levelled and enclosed its vast central space about ten years later, and even Leicester Square followed the example of St. James's and enclosed and improved itself in 1748. Nor had it to wait so long for its statue as St. James's, as one of George the First was picked out from the equestrian troop at Cannons, and set up forthwith.

Fireworks continued to be shown in the Square from time to time in spite of the alterations, and Horace Walpole, writing to Lady Ossory on

February 17th, 1779, mentions his having seen a great concourse of people here on the occasion of the public illuminations after the successes in America. The principal houses are still loyally illuminated on royal birthdays, nor did the old Square suffer by comparison with its younger neighbours on the memorable occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, or, even more recently, at the time of the Duke of York's marriage, when London surpassed all previous efforts in this direction. Fireworks of another and more deadly kind were seen here on the night of May 30th, 1884, when the emissaries of the Fenians, or of the Clan Na Gael, attempted some of their diabolical pranks with dynamite at No. 20, and at the Junior Carlton Club on the south side. The only result was to maim some "enemies of Erin" in the shape of a few innocent housemaids employed at the club, and much shattering of window panes. There was no loss of life, nor were the perpetrators of this dastardly outrage ever brought to justice.

It was not until 1806 that Samuel Travers's bequest was remembered, and the money having been found in the list of unclaimed dividends, a commission was given to the sculptor John Bacon (the younger of the two of this name), and in 1808 King William's equestrian statue, in the habit of a Roman emperor, was at last set up in the spot designed for it more than a century earlier. The whole is of bronze, about half an inch thick, except the legs of the horse which are solid. It was cast at the

premises of the sculptor in Newman Street, and is the only statue of William among the considerable and grimy army of monarchs and statesmen banished to the cold shade of a London garden. The basin of water was not even then removed, and is still remembered by many persons now living, the stagnant slimy pool having only been finally drained within the last fifty years, after one of our periodical panics of cholera, when the existing garden was laid out and planted with trees.

CHAPTER V

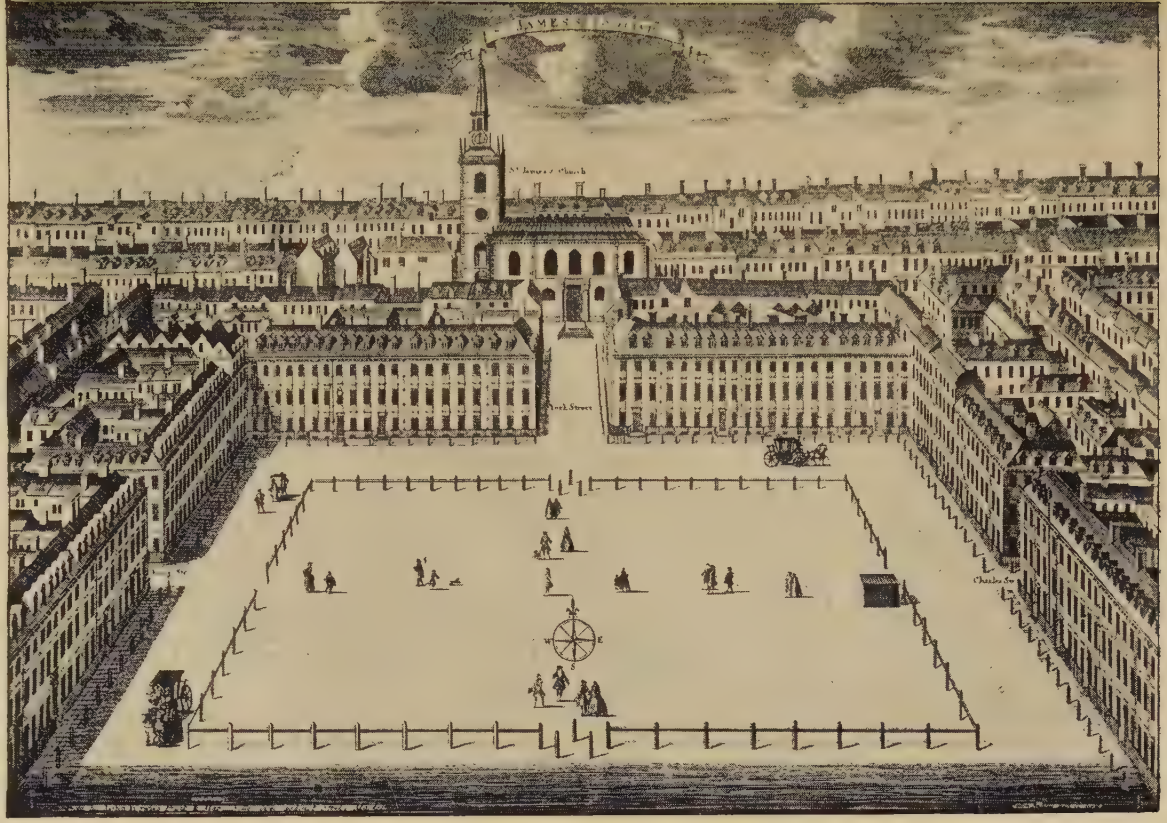
THE GREAT HOUSES

East Side.—Norfolk House, Derby House, Ossulston House.
North Side.—Ormond House.
West Side.—Halifax House, Cleveland House.

NORFOLK HOUSE

THE extreme south-eastern corner of the Square and its associations form, as it were, the keystone of the history of all the other houses in this historic area, since Norfolk House covers the site of the first of all the building speculations of the original ground landlord, Henry Jermyn, who, as we have already seen, built a house for his own occupation here some years before the Square was generally inhabited.

He took up his abode in St. James's the year after the Great Fire of London, at which date his house must have been entered from Pall Mall, then the only available roadway. At this time there would be no houses yet built on the north side of the street which the authorities vainly strove to have popularly known as Katherine or St. Katherine's Street; but



SUTTON NICHOLLS'S VIEW OF THE SQUARE AS IT APPEARED EARLY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. [First State.]

when a few years later Pall Mall became a double row of houses, St. Albans, in addition to his means of access from the new Square, constructed a carriage drive to his house from Charles Street, an approach which still exists and forms at the present day the stable-entrance to Norfolk House. He lived here except when in attendance upon the Queen-Mother at Somerset House, or in residence at Whitehall as Lord Chamberlain of the Household from 1671 to 1674, or on a mission to the French Court to arrange for the payment of hush-money by the French King to Charles ; but, on the completion of his grand project, the new piazza, he removed to a great house built for him on the north side of the Square by Richard Frith.

So early as 1669 St. Albans House was lent to Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, during his visit to London, the distinguished stranger being received by one of St. Albans's nephews. It is amusing to read that he could not go out of doors until three days after his arrival in consequence of the absence of his fine clothes, which had been detained by the Customs officers at Dover. The Duke provided a grand display of fireworks in the open space before the house, and for the greater gratification of the crowds which flocked to the new quarter of the town, he caused several casks of wine and beer to be distributed ; so no doubt the visit of this intelligent foreigner was popular. In the interesting diary of his travels translated

by Count Magalotti, allusion is made to the building of the Square: "The Earl of St. Albans is the owner of the whole of the square or place in which is the house he used to inhabit; this, in a little time, he will see covered with buildings, of which he will be the absolute proprietor."[1]

At his new and more spacious mansion on the north side, St. Albans had for his immediate neighbour the French Ambassador, whose house was at the corresponding corner of York Street; and being himself as much a Frenchman as an Englishman, and in constant communication with Louis the Fourteenth, it was no doubt not by accident that the founder of the Square assigned a site for the French Embassy in immediate proximity to his own residence. Towards the close of his life St. Albans renounced the pleasures of the Court and retired to his country-place in Suffolk, and at the beginning of the year 1684, being then about eighty years of age, he died, and was buried at Rushbrooke, where his tomb is still to be seen. Evelyn, who saw him a few months before, speaks of him as being then in a very decrepit condition, though he retained to the last his passionate love of gambling, even employing some one to sit beside him to name the spots on the cards when he felt himself no longer able to trust to his own eyesight. A portrait of him, taken in the prime of life by Van Dyck and preserved

[1] *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England in* 1669; London, 1821, p. 395.

at Rushbrooke, is reproduced as the frontispiece to this volume; the half-length by Lely in the National Portrait Gallery is not now considered to be his likeness.

Before his death he saw the commencement of the neighbouring church of St. James's, the subsequent completion of which brought with it the realisation of his pet project, the establishment of St. James's as a separate parish apart from the mother-parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It soon became a fashionable church and the weekly resort of all the beaux and belles of the West End. In Vanbrugh's *Relapse, or Virtue in Danger*, produced at Drury Lane in 1697, with Colley Cibber in the principal part, the young widow Berinthia, addressing Lord Foppington, is made to say: "Pray which church does your lordship most oblige with your presence?" LORD F.: "Oh! St. James's, madam; there's much the best company." AMANDA: "Is there good preaching too?" LORD F.: "Why, faith, madam, I can't tell. A man must have very little to do there that can give an account of the sermon." Colley's portrait as Lord Foppington by Grisoni (examples of whose best work are rare in England) is one of the principal treasures of the Garrick Club.

The next occupier of old St. Albans House, after Jermyn had finally deserted it for the north side, was Sir John Duncombe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He, however, did not stay long, as among the Duke of Norfolk's deeds is a bill of

sale of his goods (dated September 9th, 1676) made between Lord St. Albans and Richard Frith, "citizen and bricklayer" (who had a lien on the premises), and Lewis, Lord Duras, Baron of Holdenby. The deed states that on £6,000 paid or "secured to be paid" (which is not quite the same thing) to Frith, he should settle and convey the house upon trustees to be named by Duras. Frith also undertook to sell to the latter the whole of Sir John's household fittings and furniture. Duncombe had been superseded at the Treasury by Sir John Ernley, and on the King telling him that he must resign, he desired to know for what crime; on which Charles told him that he believed him to be a very honest gentleman, but that he obstructed his affairs by interfering with the Lord Treasurer (Danby), and that he could not afford to have his Treasurer uneasy.

The bill of sale was signed by Lord St. Albans and Richard Frith, and is interesting as containing a complete inventory of the contents of the house at this date. The room hung with gilded leather contained tapestry, pictures (which unfortunately are not specifically described), andirons, chairs of velvet and damask, iron chimney-backs, etc. The great dining-room had a suite of green damask hangings with yellow borders, six chairs with arms and seven others of red velvet, a pair of andirons, a fire-shovel, and last, but not least, a picture over the chimney. The great parlour had in it a "Turkey work carpet," then a sufficient rarity to

have special attention drawn to it. One of the principal bedrooms contained "an Isabella damask bed, the vallance embroidered," curtains of taffeta, a feather-bed, a quilt, but only two blankets, and a "counterpoint [counterpane] the same as the bed" Apparently there were some twelve or thirteen rooms in all, not counting the garrets and the rooms in the basement.

Lewis de Duras, afterwards Earl of Feversham, the new owner of St. Albans House, was a Frenchman who came over in the Duke of York's train. He commanded the royal forces at Sedgemoor, the last battle fought on English soil, unless we include the border skirmishes in Westmorland in the rebellion of 1745; but being as incompetent a general as he proved himself a cruel victor, the credit, if any, of the day rests with Churchill and Lumley, the latter also a resident in St. James's Square. Leaving the completion of the bloody work to Kirke and his Lambs, Feversham returned to Court to be rewarded with the Garter and the command of the most lucrative of the household regiments. He remained loyal to James at a time when many of that King's former beneficiaries were falling away from him; but his character will always be execrated by Englishmen for his cruelties to the wretched western peasants, fighting for their religion and the "pretty boy" so soon to be hurried without a trial to the block on Tower Hill, amidst the mingled tears and benedictions of the bulk of the population of London. It has been well said

by Ranke, that these same unfortunate peasants knew what they were fighting against, if they did not know what they were fighting for. As Turenne's nephew Feversham seems to have thought himself a military genius by inheritance ; but he is ridiculed in the farce called *The Battle of Sedgemoor* (ascribed, though on insufficient grounds, to the Duke of Buckingham), where he is made to say, in broken English and with many blasphemous and indelicate embellishments, that he took to his bed just before the fighting began, but that the rebels were nevertheless beaten by his orders ! He did not live in the Square continuously, but having mortgaged his property up to the hilt, the house was let to ambassadors and others, while its owner removed to Somerset House.

Passing over some intervening tenants, we find Lord Sunderland here in 1693. This once trusted adviser of both Charles and James, and in a lesser degree of William the Third, was a nephew of "handsome Sidney," Earl of Romney, himself a resident in the Square. His wife was a very fascinating woman, and married at the early age of nineteen. For a time the young couple lived at Leicester House before they deserted that less desirable neighbourhood for St. James's. Queen Anne wrote of the pair in very uncomplimentary terms a few years later : "Lady Sunderland plays the hypocrite more then ever. She runs from church to church after the famousest preachers and keeps such a clatter with her devotions

that it really turns one's stomach. Sure, never was there a couple so well matched as she and her good husband, for as she is the greatest jade that ever was, so is he the subtlest, workingest villain that is on the face of the earth." Yet the ingenious Evelyn was a friend of hers, and he records a party at her house when the company were amused after dinner by a fire-eating conjurer.

The next Lord Sunderland, a more distinguished man, who, though tainted with the characteristic flexibility of his race, became Prime Minister on the split in the Whig party, also lived here with his second bride, Marlborough's lovely daughter. From here the "little Whig" must have sallied forth one morning to lay the foundation stone of Vanbrugh's great theatre in the neighbouring Haymarket, a ponderous and unsuitable building, affording additional justification, if any be needed, for the clever epitaph on the architect of Blenheim.

> "Lie heavy, earth, on him, for he
> Laid many a heavy load on thee."

It was in this theatre that a few years later Betterton bid farewell to the stage he had so long adorned.

Towards the end of the year 1708, the house was again in the market, and Sunderland, on finally quitting the Square, removed to Piccadilly. From a letter written by Lady Wentworth when house-hunting for her son during his absence abroad, we get an

interesting description of old St. Albans House as it was at this time. The original spelling has been retained as affording an amusing example of aristocratic culture at that time. "My dearist and best of children," she writes, "I have been to see a very good hous in St. Jamsis Squair. It has thre large rooms forward and two little ons backward, closetts and marble chimney-peicis, and harths to al the best rooms and iron backs to the chimneys. Thear is twoe prety clossets with chimneys and glas over them, and picturs in the wenscoat over most of the chimneys, bras locks to all the doars, wenscoat at bottom and top and slips of boards for the hangings. Thear will want little to be dun to it. Thear is back stairs twoe coach housis, and stable for 11 horsis, rooms over for sarvents, very good offissis, a yard for the drying of cloaths and leds for that purpas, a stable-yard and a hors pond, and back gate, which I forget the street's name it goes into. Thear is a handsom roome al wenscoated for the steward to dyne in, and another good roome for the other sarvents to dyne in, even with the kitchin belowestairs under the hall and parlors. It was my Lord Sunderland's, it was to little for them. It is free ground rent and all is in herretanc. To-morrow the man comes to tell me the prise."[1] It is gratifying to learn that the "picturs in the wenscoat" remained in the positions in which Sir John Duncombe had left them, and it will be seen that the convenience of a back entrance from Charles

[1] Add. MSS. British Museum; No. 32,143.

Street is duly noted. From a further letter written by the same lady we gather additional particulars of Sunderland's late home. "Indeed it is a noble hous, you may build a gallary over the offesis; they say this hous is soe strong it will last for ever, and all the new buildings ar very slight. He [the caretaker] asurse me none of the chimneys smoke, and thear is New Rever water in all the offesis and great led sesterns in twoe or thre playsis, the kitchin is one and the brew-hous and wash-hous. Thear is a large chimney and grate and five stoavs in the kitchin. He ses the locks are worth £30, then thear is picturs over the chimney." Yet another letter on the same subject concludes: "Pray tell me which of them you lyke. Dear soul, my paper is al fild with thees housis, I wish the best of them were fild with you and all your goods, with the adetion of a good, buitefull, vertious wife, to the great comfort of, my dearist dear, your most infenite affectionat Mother." What matters orthography when the heart speaks so eloquently?[1]

Old St. Albans House now became the property of the first Duke of Portland, who, as Lord Woodstock, had already lived in another house on this side of the Square. The funeral of his father, the first Bentinck to leave the dykes and polders of Overyssel for the

[1] Lady Wentworth's wishes were soon after to be gratified, as in 1711 a young Lady Strafford dates from No. 5, St. James's Square, a house which still remains in the possession of the family's descendants in the female line.

rich manors of England with which he was so plentifully endowed by William the Third, took place from Lord Woodstock's house in the Square. We read that the pageant was accompanied by all the trappings of woe and the expensive ceremonial so dear to the heart of the diarist Machyn in an earlier age. First went several men on horseback, in long black cloaks followed by the standard, "the great Banner," the coronet and other trophies of the departed peer. The solemn procession, marshalled by the heralds at dead of night, as was then the custom, wound slowly round the Square proceeding thence by Pall Mall and Charing Cross to Henry the Seventh's Chapel in the Abbey, the pall being borne by six Dukes (of whom four were Knights of the Garter), clad in their robes of state.

The first Earl of Portland, who is said to have left an estate of a million of money, died at his house near the Banqueting Chamber in Whitehall, and did not, as is stated by some topographers, ever live in St. James's Square. On acquiring the freehold of old St. Albans House, his son made extensive alterations and improvements, utilising the court-yard or garden for the erection of new reception rooms, thus realising Lady Wentworth's favourite scheme of a gallery over the offices. In 1721 he was made Governor of Jamaica, an appointment which he probably accepted owing to financial embarrassment caused by the South Sea Bubble. He thereupon disposed of his house here to the Duke of

Norfolk for £10,000, and sailed for the West Indies, where he remained till his death in 1726.

The Duke of Norfolk, who now became identified with a locality which has ever since remained the property of his family, died here in 1732, and was succeeded by his brother the ninth Duke, whose connection with the Square will always be memorable from his having lent his house to the impulsive and extravagant Frederick, Prince of Wales, on the occasion of the quarrel with his father, George the Second, in 1737. On the Prince's coming to Norfolk House, the Duke removed to Stafford House, Buckingham Gate, which still belonged to the Howard family and closely adjoined the place of entertainment once known as Tart Hall. The name is still preserved in Stafford Place, Pimlico. In the following year, George the Third was born, on a day in June dear to the hearts of successive generations of Eton boys, in a very dismal-looking room, (the painted ceiling of which even now exhibits some faded traces of former splendour) in a building, which probably dates only from the time of the Duke of Portland's improvements, and, though much modernised since his day, still stands behind the existing Norfolk House. The first of the house of Hanover to be born and bred in England therefore drew his earliest breath in the atmosphere of this truly royal Square,[1] a spot

[1] In a paragraph written out by himself for insertion in his first speech from the throne occur these words, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Britain" (*sic.*).

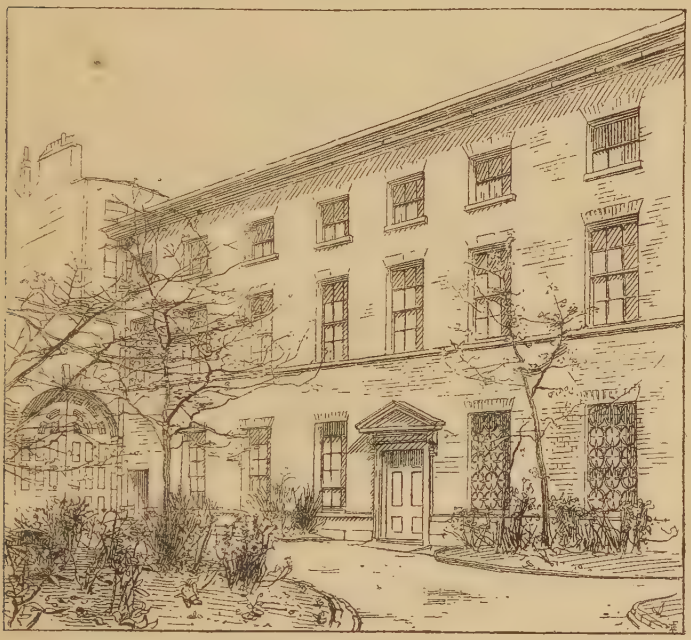
already intimately connected with the throne, and destined to play a prominent part in the life of his successor and his unhappy consort, Queen Caroline. George the Third's brother, the Duke of York, was also born here ; but from an entry in the rate-book for 1741, the royal visitors seem then to have left the hospitality of the Square for that "pouting place of princes" known as Leicester House.

Soon after his own return, the Duke of Norfolk entered into negotiations with his neighbour to the northward with a view to acquiring the freehold, and pulling down both houses in order to erect the present mansion. In 1748 a private Act of Parliament was passed to provide for the sale and disposition of the estate of the late Joseph Banks of Revesby, the former owner, wherein it is stated that the house was then very old and in a ruinous condition, that the rent of the premises had not of late years exceeded £170, and that as the next adjoining house (the Duke of Norfolk's own property) was then being pulled down, there would not be any likelihood of letting the premises to any advantage. The Duke was thus enabled to buy for £1,830 this portion of the old Bellasis freehold, which had been inhabited among others by Lady Newburgh, an intimate friend of Charles the First and his son, and "a woman of a very great wit and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues which could be best managed and carried on by ladies," [1] by Sir John Ernley, by the Earl

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vi. 292 ; ed. 1826.

of Jersey (who married Will Chiffinch's daughter), and by the Prussian Minister, Count Daggenfielt.

The elder Matthew Brettingham was the architect employed to design the new mansion, which was presumably in course of erection from 1748 to 1752, in



OLD BUILDING BEHIND NORFOLK HOUSE IN WHICH GEORGE THE THIRD WAS BORN.

which latter year the Duke's name again appears in the parochial rate-books, the estimated annual value of the house being returned as £525, or about one-fourth of the gross estimated rental at the present time.

Mrs. Delany speaks of Norfolk House as finished

in 1756, and thenceforward, in Lady Mary Coke's Journal, are frequent references to the Duchess's card parties and the scandal talked at them, only, in the majority of cases, to be contradicted, in the light of later information, at the next assembly. The Duke died without issue in 1777, when in his ninety-second year, and with him terminated the old male line of

NORFOLK HOUSE.

the great Howard family, the baronies of Mowbray and Howard (the former honour dating from the thirteenth century) then falling into abeyance. The old Duke, whose name will always be closely associated with Norfolk House as it now stands, had known six sovereigns. Born under a king who was an avowed Roman Catholic, he lived to see the ancient religion

of his race severely repressed by the legislature from which he was himself excluded. Had he lived but one year longer, he would have witnessed the earliest growth of a more tolerant spirit toward his faith ; an Act for the removal of some minor Papist disabilities passing through both Houses of Parliament, and receiving the royal assent in 1778, more than fifty years before the great measure of Catholic Emancipation was placed upon the Statute Book. Since the death of the ninth Duke, Norfolk House has been owned and inhabited by six successive holders of the title. The older building at the back, in which George the Third was born, being ill adapted to the domestic requirements of the nineteenth century, has been utilised by the present Duke as a storehouse for the family muniments.

DERBY HOUSE.

When that fine old Cavalier, Lord Bellasis (whose signal services to the royal cause during the Civil Wars did not secure him in later years from the indignity of a traitor's cell in the Tower of London, on suspicion of being implicated in the Popish Plot), in pursuance of his agreement with Lord St. Albans to build three or more houses in the Square before the year 1671, had completed the first of them, Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford and the last male representative of an ancient Norman family,

took up his abode at the corner of Charles Street on the site of what has been known for the last forty years as Derby House. Rated at fifty shillings in 1673, he refused to pay even this moderate assessment, and in common with many aristocratic occupiers of the newly-built houses in St. James's Fields, he seems to have given considerable trouble to the parochial authorities, since such plain-spoken entries as "would not pay more," "refused," "out of town," "gone and won't pay," are constantly to be met with in the rate-books of the period.

Lord Oxford (who was the first colonel of the regiment of Horse Guards Blue, raised in 1661 and now styled the Royal Horse Guards), before coming to St. James's had lived in the old piazza at Covent Garden. Pepys mentions a disturbance at his house in May, 1663, when swords were drawn and blows exchanged, till, on matters assuming a serious aspect, Monk quelled the fray by the simple, but drastic, expedient of removing the combatants' weapons. Lord Oxford would then have been living in close proximity to the fair actress, Mrs. Davenport, the Roxalana of Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, whom he treacherously entrapped into a sham marriage (the ceremony being performed by a trumpeter in his own regiment), on his finding her proof against all his other advances. In the quaint phraseology of Downes, from whom we derive most of our knowledge of the Restoration playhouses, Mrs.

Davenport "by force of love was erept the stage" about the beginning of the year 1662, and Evelyn adds the significant intelligence, that, on her final appearance in her favourite part, she was generally taken to be the "Earl of Oxford's Miss, as at this time they began to call lewd women."[1] Notwithstanding this disreputable episode in his career, Lord Oxford would appear to have been a brave soldier, his services in the field extending over a period dating from the Civil Wars to the battle of Sedgemoor. When he removed like Lord St. Albans himself to the north side of the Square, the house was next occupied by Lord Cavendish, a son-in-law of Ormond and subsequently the first Duke of Devonshire.

The character of this life-long supporter of the Protestant religion has been unfavourably depicted by the not always impartial Burnet. After calling him a libertine in principle and practice, and an ambitious and revengeful man, the Bishop admits that he had "the courage of a hero, with a much greater proportion of wit and knowledge than is usual in men of his birth." Representing his native county of Derby in Parliament, Lord Cavendish was a participator in a very stormy scene in the House of Commons soon after the opening of the Session of 1675. The King, having promised his brother of France that he would give Parliament another trial, as it might be useful and in the event of its being inconvenient (as it soon

[1] *Diary*; January 9th, 1662.

proved to be) could be summarily dismissed, had afforded an opportunity to the respective adherents of Danby and Shaftesbury of fighting out their differences at Westminster. The House was in Committee on the proposal by Lord Russell to impeach the Lord Treasurer (Danby), when Cavendish engaged in a violent altercation with Sir J. Hanmer. After a tumult of half an hour's duration, the Speaker, without having been specially summoned, again took possession of the chair, a most unusual proceeding.[1] Lord Cavendish joined the popular party during the next session (which opened after a very long prorogation), and after the disclosure of the Popish Plot he showed himself an active Protestant. His whole Parliamentary career was of a turbulent nature; on one occasion he was committed to the Tower for a breach of Privilege in prosecuting a quarrel with another Member, and even when he reached the calmer haven of the House of Lords, this bellicose spirit would still occasionally reassert itself. In 1697 he publicly caned a Colonel Culpepper at the Auction House in St. Albans's Street, "for being troublesome to him in the late reign"; but from the account of this insolence given by Luttrell ten years earlier, it appears that the Duke of Devonshire was himself the aggressor. At the trial of Lord Russell, when it was almost as dangerous to appear as a witness for, as to have been an accomplice with, the prisoner, he stood

[1] See Lingard's *History of England*, ix. 264; and Sir T. Erskine May's *Parliamentary Practice*, p. 367, ed. 1893.

loyally by his friend and was present with him on the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Eschewing politics for a time, he then retired to the country and occupied himself with rebuilding Chatsworth. He was, however, an active agent in bringing over William the Third, and throughout his life he remained a tower of strength to the Whigs. Fond of sport, as well as of politics, he was charitable to the poor in an age when charity was little understood, and generous and hospitable to his equals. In 1685 he left St. James's Square to live at Montagu House, Bloomsbury, where the British Museum now stands, but must bitterly have regretted the change, as he was a heavy loser by a great fire which broke out there in the following year. He next lived at Whitehall, but was once again the victim of the ravages of fire in 1698. This was probably the cause of his returning for a time to the Square (to No. 3), before his new purchase in Piccadilly, since known as Devonshire House, was ready for his occupation. For some years both he and the Marquis of Normanby (afterwards Duke of Buckingham) had been trying to acquire Berkeley House ; but as both claimed to have bought it of Lord Berkeley, a long lawsuit followed, which terminated in favour of the Duke of Devonshire.[1]

Lord Bellasis occupied the house which he had built in the very early days of the Square's history, when

[1] The Duke of Buckingham thereupon bought Arlington House of the Duchess of Grafton, and soon after rebuilt it.

James the Second, unconsciously drifting on the lee-shore of popular discontent, had chosen him, on account of his religion, to succeed Rochester at the Treasury. Two short years later and the Dutch guards were patrolling Whitehall with the cordial approval of the bulk of the population. For in the majority of English homes there still lingered the tradition, carefully handed down from one generation to another, of the dark doings in this country in the days of the Marian persecution ; and the 'prentice minds of many a blue-eyed maid and fair-haired English youth would yet thrill with horror at the bare relation of the refined cruelties of the Inquisition, and the possibility of the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield. Dying in 1689, Lord Bellasis was buried at St. Giles's in the Fields, where in after years a monument, with a long and eulogistic inscription, was erected by his daughters to his memory. It is now fast mouldering to decay in the churchyard, and becoming rapidly illegible in the soot-laden atmosphere of that unlovely spot in Bloomsbury, now separated so widely from St. James's, but which, when Lord Bellasis knew it, was held to be but little inferior as a place of residence for men of honour and quality.

There is some reason for supposing that this may have been the house occupied between 1732 and 1735 by Sir Robert Walpole, though it has not been possible positively to identify the house temporarily inhabited by the great Whig leader. In Watson's *Court Calendar* for the year 1733, the town-addresses

of members of both Houses of Parliament are given, and among them occur the names of Sir Robert and his brother Edward Walpole as resident in the Square. Except Derby House, all the other houses here appear to be accounted for this year, but according to the rate-book, this one was empty both in 1732 and 1733; and there is hence a strong probability that this, or No. 13, which was also empty in 1734, may have had the honour of housing Sir Robert. In September, 1735, he removed to the house in Downing Street fronting St. James's Park, which has ever since been the official residence of the Prime Minister, should he care to occupy it. The Duke of Newcastle writing to Walpole, November 13th, 1734, says: "Lady Suffolk, having left the Court on complaint of unkind treatment from the King, went to her brother's house in St. James's Square.[1]" This seems to weaken the argument in favour of Derby House, which undoubtedly became the property of Lord Hobart about this time, since the Duke must have been well aware of the position of Sir Robert's own residence when he wrote to him.

The connection of the Hobart family with the musical world will be alluded to in a later page. Sir John Aubrey, who, at the time of his death in 1826, was the father of the House of Commons, having sat without intermission in twelve successive Parliaments,

[1] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, iii. 209. Next year we find her in Savile Row, of which she was one of the earliest occupants.

also lived here. Originally a Whig, he joined Pitt for a time and became (in 1783) a Lord of the Treasury, but on the question of the Regency he resigned office and rejoined his old friends. The fourth Earl of Dartmouth, whose ancestors had lived in the Square some hundred and fifty years earlier, was the last owner of the house before it was bought by the Earl of Derby about forty years ago.

OSSULSTON HOUSE.

(*Covering the site of Nos.* 1 *and* 2 *of the present day.*)

Old Ossulston House, long the property of the Bennet family, stood at the north-west corner of Charles Street. Arlington, a member of the Cabal Ministry and an intimate friend of Charles the Second, is said to have shared with Sir Charles Berkeley the invidious distinction of managing the royal mistresses. Burnet says of him that his parts were "solid, but not quick"; and another of his biographers informs us that he had "une grande avidité pour le travail, et une impénétrable stupidité pour le secret." Armed as he was with these valuable diplomatic qualifications Charles delegated to him the principal direction of foreign affairs in addition to the arduous duties already noted. In the conduct of public business he was resolutely opposed by Clarendon, and with the rise of Danby his political influence commenced to wane, though he retained the post of Lord Chamber-

lain (in succession to Lord St. Albans) till his death. He preferred to live at Goring House, the site of which had been granted to him before the Square was fully built, and Ossulston House was occupied by his brother. Arlington Street and Bennet Street stand on ground acquired from the Crown by the same favoured Minister.

A very early mention of Ossulston House is contained in a letter of Grace, Lady Chaworth, to her brother Lord Roos, dated January 19th, 1676–77 : "Lord Purbecke hath hired, after the example of the Duke of Monmouth, Sir John Bennett's house in St. James's Fields, for to make a ball to the Masqueraders in, next week." At the earlier entertainment the company, according to the same authority, consisted solely of "debauched men and lewd women, no civil being there but Lady Buckingham and Mrs. Midleton, who are inseparable companions, and [they], they say, was there in masks." The house, like others in the Square, was also occasionally used for the reception of foreign ambassadors on their first arrival in London.

Another member of the Bennet family, the second Earl of Tankerville, made considerable alterations in the house, and had the staircase painted, after the prevailing fashion, by Amiconi, a Venetian artist who came to England early in the reign of George the Second. He chose for his subjects the stories of Achilles, Telemachus, and Tiresias, and when asked what the cost might be, merely produced bills incurred in erecting scaffolding, &c., amounting to £90 ;

whereupon he was presented with a purse of £200 in addition. Though we do not hear very much of him in London society, as Master of the Buckhounds Lord Tankerville took a prominent place in the sporting world, and the races at Ascot first began to assume importance among the fixtures of the Turf during his mastership from 1733 to 1736. In 1735 the meeting on the Berkshire heath for the first time in its history extended over three days; and as the card was light and the entries scanty, the attractions included a cock-fight between the birds owned by the gentlemen of Berkshire and those belonging to the gentlemen of Hampshire.[1] The sport at Newmarket, which had enjoyed constant royal patronage down to the reign of Queen Anne, began now to decline in importance. The first two Georges cared nothing for the racing at the Metropolis of the Turf, and it may be that Newmarket's temporary eclipse was Ascot's opportunity. Shortly before Lord Tankerville's death he sold Ossulston House for £6,000, and it was soon after pulled down, two new houses being erected on the site.

The corner one of these was taken by Lord Dartmouth in 1755. He became Lord Privy Seal in

[1] Records of cock-fighting continued to be inserted in the official *Racing Calendar* down to the year 1840, and the gentlemen of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire were the last of its English patrons. It was made illegal in 1849, and the bull, the bear, the badger, and the dog were taken under the protection of the legislature at the same time.

Lord North's Administration, retaining office until the return of the Whigs under Lord Rockingham. The house is now the West End Branch of the London and Westminster Bank, having been bought for that purpose in 1844. The other was bought by the second Viscount Falmouth for £8,200, and it has remained in the possession of the Boscawens ever since.

The family of the Boscawens, like that of the Ansons and the Nelsons, though very ancient, was comparatively undistinguished until the brilliant naval achievements of one of its members brought it into prominence. It is not surprising that many of the family should have entered Parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for their county was pre-eminent for the number of rotten boroughs within its limits, no less than forty-two members being returned by Cornish constituencies previous to the passing of the Reform Bill. The guns in front of the house utilised as street-posts are said to have been taken from the French by the brave Edward Boscawen, who commanded H.M.S. *Namur*, a 74-gun ship in Anson's action off Cape Finisterre, May, 1747, when Pitt's great admiral, as he was afterwards called, was severely wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball. Anson, having been directed by the Admiralty to cruise between Ushant and Finisterre so as to intercept the enemy, had been nearly a month at sea before he fell in with the French fleet; and, though it proved to be numerically far superior to our own, he won

a signal victory over de Jonquière, capturing no less than six French sail of the line. This was the occasion on which the French admiral, in surrendering

NO. 2. VISCOUNT FALMOUTH.

his sword, is reported to have said, "Monsieur, vous avez vaincu *L'Invincible* et *La Gloire* vous suit," a jocular allusion to the names of the prizes which no one but a Frenchman would give utterance to in the

very moment of defeat.[1] Boscawen, who was made an admiral for his share in the victory, presumably presented the guns to his elder brother on his return home, as during his long parliamentary career he seems never to have lived in the Square himself. He was nicknamed by his sailors "Wrynecked Dick," from an odd habit of holding his head on one side, and "Old Dreadnought" from his ship of that name. Another member of the family has also won fame within our own time, and, in his own way, no less honourably. If all patrons of the Turf took pattern by the late Lord Falmouth, the sport of horse-racing would not suffer, and the Anti-Gambling League might find their occupation gone.[2] The house is now (1895) occupied by Sir John Lubbock.

ORMOND HOUSE.

This, the largest and in some respects the most interesting house in the Square, was built, as we have already seen, by Lord St. Albans for his own occupation ; but after his retirement from London, it passed

[1] The former, a 74-gun ship, after being refitted, was unfortunately lost in going out of Portsmouth Harbour in 1758. The *Gloire* was converted into a hulk at the same dockyard. Both are figured in Milton's view of Portsmouth.

[2] His victories in the classic races included the Two Thousand Guineas (three times), the One Thousand Guineas (four times), the Derby (twice), the Oaks (four times), and the St. Leger (three times), all won by horses of his own breeding, an achievement of which any Englishman might be proud.

into the possession of the great Duke of Ormond, the only man who has ever been four times Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart,

and during the time that he and his scarcely less distinguished grandson the second Duke lived here (a period of five and thirty years) the house continued to be the scene of a magnificent hospitality and the centre of London society.

Here, early in 1688, took place the great meeting of Protestant Lords and Irish gentlemen to the number of two hundred, when an address of welcome to the Prince of Orange was drawn up praying him to carry on the government till a Convention could meet. Here, too, the Heads of the University of Oxford waited on the second Duke to install him as their Chancellor. On this occasion a procession was formed at Northumberland House, the doctors and scholars walking in order of precedence to Ormond House, where they were splendidly entertained by the Chancellor elect.

Burglaries were not unknown in the West End of London in the seventeenth century, for Luttrell, writing in November, 1692, says: "Last night thirteen rogues broke into the Duke of Ormond's house, got into the room where his plate and jewels were, but on some noise, seven of them were apprehended and committed."

In 1698 the house was temporarily occupied by Count Tallard, who must have preferred St. James's Square to Nottingham Castle, where he was incarcerated after the battle of Blenheim.

Endeavouring to reconstruct the past in the mind's eye, and to repeople this stately home in the zenith of its fame, we see a string of coaches draw up at Ormond's door one night in January, 1712. Out of the foremost of these there steps, amidst the huzzas of the mob, a little, ugly, high-shouldered man in gorgeous uniform. This would be no less a personage than Prince Eugene, familiar enough to the English nation as Marlborough's companion in arms, and bracketed with the great General in the minds and mouths of the gaping crowds who congregated in Westminster Hall to feast their eyes on the tattered standards of Blenheim. We read of the Prince being also fêted at Lady Betty Germain's and at Lord Portland's houses, for the unpopularity of the Whigs not extending to Marlborough's colleague, he was well received everywhere during his stay in town. Swift writes: "I saw Prince Eugene, at Court to-day very plain; he's plaguy yellow and tolerably ugly besides. The Court was very full, and people had their birthday clothes."[1]

But if the Whigs were unpopular at this time, they were soon to have their revenge. When Queen Anne lay on her deathbed, it was to Shrewsbury that she entrusted the Treasurer's white staff; and so soon

[1] *Journal to Stella*, February 10, 1712.

as George the First arrived in this country, he was captured by the Whigs, who hastened to impress upon his mind as well as they were able, for he did not understand English nor they German, that all Tories were necessarily Jacobites. Having obtained a majority at the polls, the new Ministers lost no time in taking steps to crush their opponents, by impeaching Bolingbroke and Oxford and involving the noble house of Ormond in the common ruin on a groundless charge. Small wonder was it they were driven into disaffection beyond the seas. The Duke was popular in London, and for a time mobs marched through the principal streets shouting, "High Church and Ormond!" and threatening some and looting others of the mughouses[1] resorted to by the Whigs. Some of the rioters were promptly hanged, but this did not deter large crowds of men and women, dressed in white, from assembling on the Sunday following the execution with the intention of marching in procession to St. Bride's Church, where the ringleader of the former riot had been buried. It was not till a youth of eighteen and an unfortunate printer, who was only a year older, had also been executed for their Jacobite sympathies, that the popular enthusiasm subsided.

[1] Mughouses were the convivial meeting-places of the Whigs in the reign of George the First. Located mostly in Long Acre and the neighbourhood of the Strand and Fleet Street, their patrons met two or three times a week to discuss ale, music, and politics. The site of the one demolished by the Jacobites in Salisbury Court was selected for the execution of the rioters.

On the Duke's disgrace in 1715 Ormond House was sometimes occupied by his brother, the Earl of Arran, whom Horace Walpole calls "an inoffensive old man, and the last male of the illustrious house of Ormond." His sister, "a young heiress of ninety-nine," survived him for two years. The closing chapter of the Butlers' long connection with the Square is reached in the following paragraph: "On the 29th (April, 1719), the house of the late Duke of Ormond in St. James's Square was put to sale by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, and purchased by Mr. Hackett, a gentleman of Ireland, for £7,500."[1] To describe the best-bred man of his age as the *late* Duke, reads oddly when we remember that this victim of Whig vengeance lived in exile for more than five-and-twenty years after his fall, and that not only was he condemned unheard, his estates confiscated, and the family honours extinguished, but a price of £10,000 was set upon his head. It is said that his wife never once saw him after his attainder.

Ormond House now became the property of the Duke of Chandos, for the "gentleman of Ireland" was of course only a middleman, and for a time the hospitable traditions of the old mansion were more than sustained by the princely head of the family of Brydges. But his extravagances at Cannons and elsewhere involved him in pecuniary difficulties about 1734-5, and, it being no longer possible for him to

[1] *Political State of Great Britain* (1719), xvii. 447.

remain here, Chandos House, as by this time it had come to be called, was pulled down and divided into three separate dwellings, represented by Nos. 9, 10, and 11 of the modern numbering, designed for a Mr. Wollaston, Sir William Heathcote, and Lord Macclesfield respectively. At the same time three houses were built in York Street on a portion of the garden.[1] A narrow mews running at the back of the houses in this quarter of the Square still retains the name of Ormond Yard, the memory of old Cleveland House being preserved in similar fashion by a stable-yard in King Street. Some distinguished occupants of these houses will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

HALIFAX HOUSE.

The associations of Halifax House date from an earlier period (with the exception of St. Albans House) than those of any building in the Square.

As early as 1673 the rate-books of St. Martin's record under the heading of "King's Street in St. James's Fields" the name of George Savile, Lord Halifax. The celebrated Trimmer was therefore one of the pioneers of fashionable society in the West End; and for more than twenty years his house was the headquarters of the political world, and the scene of many an intrigue between the

[1] The uppermost of these is marked with a stone on which is cut the date 1735.

Court party and the government of the day. Although he is said to have favoured Monmouth rather than the Duke of York, he managed so far to ingratiate himself with James on his accession as to be re-appointed to high office, until replaced by Sunderland. On the King's flight and the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, he conducted matters with such a high hand in the House of Lords, where he acted temporarily as Speaker in the Convention Parliament, that he carried the day against James by a small majority. Henry, Lord Clarendon, who was one of the peers who voted for a regency, while admitting a strong bias in his own mind in favour of the absconding King, writes in his diary (which has hardly met with the attention it deserves, owing, no doubt, to the overshadowing personality of his more distinguished father), in severe terms of the unfairness of Halifax in the Chair, and of his almost indecent haste to overturn the government and offer the crown to William. After holding the office of Lord Privy Seal for a short time in the new King's reign, he retired from public life, and, dying in 1695, his remains were carried from this house to their last resting-place in the Abbey.

Lord Halifax's eldest son,—

> Eland, whose pen as nimbly glides
> As his good father changes sides,—

married when on his travels the daughter of the Marquis de Gouvernet, whose widow, flying from

France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, passed the remaining years of her life in this Square. The family negotiations for the match with Lord Eland are related in detail in the Savile Correspondence,[1] from which it appears that Lord and Lady Sunderland had been most anxious to secure the young lady, and her fortune of two hundred thousand crowns, for their son, Lord Spencer, during their own stay in France.[2]

The widow of the second Marquis married the first Duke of Roxburgh, more than once Secretary of State for Scotland, who, however, on his withdrawal from Court, ceased to live in London about 1720. Malcolm states in his *Londinium Redivivum* that Halifax House was for a short time occupied by the Board of Admiralty in consequence of the rebuilding of Wallingford House in Whitehall, on the site of which the present Admiralty Office stands; but though right as to the locality, he is wrong as to the house actually selected. It was to No. 13, then the property of the Clarges family, and now the Windham Club, that the Board removed in 1723, and the original minutes of the Commissioners, now preserved in the Public Record Office, are first dated from the Square in May of that year, the Board returning to Whitehall in September, 1725.

[1] *Camden Society*, 1858, p. 141.

[2] Though Lord Spencer did not carry off the prize in question, he contrived to marry two heiresses in succession before reaching the age of twenty-five.

George Byng, first Viscount Torrington, having completed his brilliant services at sea and effectually annihilated the power of the Spaniard, for the time being, off Cape Passaro, was now Rear-Admiral of Great Britain; Anson had just become a post-captain; Hawke had but recently gone to sea for the first time; Boscawen was only thirteen years old, and Rodney only six. More than half a century was yet to elapse before the mighty name of Nelson should first emerge from its provincial obscurity. Perhaps the most prominent member of the Admiralty Board at this time was Sir John Norris, the "Foul-weather Jack" of the lower deck, and a sailor who knew the Baltic as well as the Buoy at the Nore or Spithead itself. Its deliberations, however, must have been comparatively unimportant previous to its return to Whitehall, the services of the fleet being engaged in the normal repression of piracy, while Europe generally was enjoying an unwonted peace.

CLEVELAND HOUSE.

No mention is made either in Lord St. Albans's rent-roll or in the parochial rate-books for 1676 of this, the great house recently demolished at the south-east corner of King Street and the Square. But in the following year the name of Lord Essex occurs in this position, when the newcomer was assessed at the then high figure of nine pounds.

This was Arthur Capel, the unfortunate Earl of Essex, but just returned to London from the Vice-Royalty of Ireland. By a curious slip Mr. John Richard Green has called him "the last of an ill-fated race," but, as a matter of fact, he was in no way connected with the Devereux family ennobled under the same title. Lord Essex, whose name is commemorated in Dublin to this day by Capel Street and Essex Bridge, found Ireland in a hopeless state of confusion, and during his whole administration he was much hampered by having to deal with the female harpies who ministered to the King's pleasures at home in England. When the Duchess of Portsmouth wanted £8,000 to buy a pearl necklace which she had set her worthless heart upon, and a pair of diamond ornaments costing £3,000 more, Danby referred her to the Viceroy of Ireland for the money; and on another occasion Essex was actually driven to propose a small tax on the whole of that distressful country in order to save the Phœnix Park from being made over to the Duchess of Cleveland. His language becomes positively pathetic when he writes of the "Inconveniences that every chief Governor that is sent hither must live under, if he be deprived of this park; I think it were very fit it were represented to his Majesty before it be too late, for the truth is, as is well known, it is the only diversion that this place affords, and without it a man must live like a prisoner." Like some of his successors, Lord Essex found Dublin Castle very uncomfort-

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able : "It is one of the most incommodious dwellings that I ever came in, and there is no place of pleasure belonging to it, nor any house to retire to for a little air upon occasion of sickness, but only those within the Phœnix Park."

OLD CLEVELAND HOUSE SHORTLY BEFORE ITS DEMOLITION IN 1894.

While still in Ireland, Lord Essex had been in treaty for the purchase of old Essex House in the Strand, but his efforts to acquire that property proving unsuccessful, he came to St. James's instead. Soon after his arrival from Dublin he was placed at the head of the Treasury as a stopgap between the

administrations of Danby and Rochester, but on account of his supposed share in the Popish Plot he was thrown into the Tower of London in 1683, where he was soon after found with his throat cut in mysterious circumstances, and not without suspicions, as already recorded, of foul play, although his widow is said to have acknowledged it to be a case of suicide. Curiously enough, his successor in the title also breathed his last in the Tower, of which he was Constable at the time of his death. The house now became the property of the Popham family, but was frequently let. In 1706 the Duke of Norfolk was here; but he seems to have been of a restless disposition and fond of changing his place of residence, as he afterwards lived at no less than three other houses in the Square,—at No. 8 from 1715 to 1719 at No. 13 from 1720 to 1722, finally settling down in the south-east corner in 1723. The Venetian Ambassador, Signor Tron, was here for some years, obstinately refusing to pay any rates during the whole of his stay. It was perhaps in consequence of this evasion on his part that in the Act for the better regulation and improvement of the Square, passed a few years later, it was expressly laid down that "empty houses or houses occupied by Ambassadors or Ministers from any foreign prince or state were to have their rates paid by the landlords, owners, or proprietors thereof."

In Sutton Nicholls's view of the Square as it appeared early in the eighteenth century the entrance

to this house is shown as being in the Square itself, and not, as latterly, in King Street. Traces of this arrangement were visible down to its demolition in 1894, the blocked doorway in the centre of the front towards the Square having been converted into one of the dining-room windows. After the departure of the rate-evading Ambassador, the house stood empty for a year or two ; but in 1722 it being too large for the requirements of the Pophams, they sold it to Charles FitzRoy, Duke of Southampton and Cleveland, the fourth of King Charles the Second's many natural sons to settle in the Square.[1]

[1] Charles, Duke of Richmond, who came to live at No. 5 in 1693, inherited the extravagant tastes of his mother the Duchess of Portsmouth and left debts at his death amounting to £14,000, a comparatively large sum in those days. The Duke of St. Albans, the King's eldest son by Nell Gwynne, afterwards lived for a short time in the same house. He distinguished himself at the siege of Belgrade with the Emperor's army and on settling down at home, he married Lord Oxford's daughter.

> The line of Vere, so long renowned in arms,
> Concludes with lustre in St. Albans' charms.
> Her conquering eyes have made her race complete ;
> They rose in valour, and in beauty set.

George FitzRoy, Duke of Northumberland replaced the Dutch Ambassador at No. 13. But little is recorded of him except that he married a widow "rich only in beauty," thereby greatly displeasing the Court, which was in treaty for a match between him and Lord Newcastle's daughter. Evelyn, who met him at dinner at Sir Stephen Fox's house in September, 1684, calls him "a young gentleman of good capacity, well-bred, civil and modest . . . . of all his Majesty's children the most accomplished and worth the owning."

By this time, however, all, or nearly all the old roystering crew had departed, their places being now filled by a very different stamp of people, such as Lady Betty Germain and Sir Spencer Compton, the Speaker of the House of Commons. Perhaps the only dwellers here who could remember King Charles and the gay doings in the Square in its earlier days would be Lord Pembroke, who lived at No. 12, and Lord Portmore at No. 14. The former had known the "great piazza" since 1684, and had been an executor of Nell Gwynne's will, so that he might naturally have heard from her lips much of the private history of the Court of Whitehall in the latter years of Charles. Lord Portmore had married Catherine Sedley, the Duke of York's clever, ill-favoured mistress, and had not long been left a widower, when Barbara Villiers's son first came here. A fine portrait of his mother by Lely hung in the boudoir on the first floor of this old ducal mansion till its recent destruction.

The first Duke of Cleveland died in this house in 1730 and was buried in the Abbey. His widow, who soon afterwards remarried, seems to have lived here on and off till her death which occurred at the beginning of the year 1746. A note in the parochial rate-book for that year informs us that the family house in St. James's was under repair, probably on the incoming of the second Duke after his mother's death. The ball-room may then have been added and the interior generally arranged in the manner in

which it ever afterwards remained. The estimated value of the house at this time was £300 per annum ; but it is doubtful if any one could have been found to pay even that moderate rent for the old house as it stood recently, immensely valuable as the site must always be. In 1774 the second Duke, who had been for five-and-twenty years a prominent supporter of the Turf in Yorkshire and Durham, though never apparently a member of the Jockey Club, died without issue at Raby Castle, the seat of the second Earl of Darlington, the first of the Vanes to bear that title having married, in 1725, Lady Grace FitzRoy, daughter and co-heiress of Barbara Villiers's son. Lord Darlington now succeeded to Cleveland House, and his son after him, the latter being subsequently created Marquis and Duke of Cleveland in return for services rendered to the Whigs. He died here in 1842 : his two sons, the next holders of the title, both died without issue in the same year, 1864 ; and the late Duke, the last owner of this remarkable house, died in 1891.

The external appearance of Cleveland House had for many years before its demolition been more curious than pleasing, though the interior still retained some faint traces of its early splendour in the shape of handsome marble mantelpieces (even in the basement), gilded ceilings, and polished floors. Such relics of old London are, however, foredoomed to destruction so soon as their owners neglect to keep them in reasonable repair ; and in the case of Cleveland House the

intrinsic value of the site was too great to permit the retention of such a mouldering vestige of antiquity. In May, 1894, it was accordingly sold for upwards of £50,000 to a Mr. Gabriel, by whom it was pulled down in the following August. The internal walls were found to be between three and four feet thick, with bonding timbers of English oak as sound as when they were first placed in position more than two hundred years ago.

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GREAT DRAWING ROOM AT No. 4 (EARL COWPER), DESIGNED BY LORD BURLINGTON FOR THE DUKE OF KENT

CHAPTER VI

MEN OF AFFAIRS AND MEN OF ACTION

In addition to the names properly falling under this category, mentioned in the last chapter, the remaining houses in the Square have nearly all sheltered, at one time or another, many public men of first-rate importance. And where, figuratively speaking, from nearly every house there streams a blue or red ribbon, it will be obviously impossible, within the limits of the present work, to describe at length all the men of mark who have lived here. A few examples must suffice to show the steady level of notoriety maintained by the old Square throughout the whole of its existence.

Few, if any, houses in it have changed hands oftener than the low brick-fronted building undisfigured as yet by stucco, and with an air of old-fashioned respectability unmistakably stamped upon its face, which stands at the north-west angle of the Square, and is now the home of the Windham Club. The site was, as we have seen in Chapter II., secured originally by Sir Thomas Clarges, General Monk's brother-in-law, and a somewhat prominent member

of Parliament at the Restoration. Having contrived to enrich himself out of the public purse, he, like some latter-day economists, took the utmost pains to prevent any one from following his example.[1] He did not occupy No. 13 himself, though it remained in the possession of his family until the reign of George the Second, but let it to Lawrence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, the son of the fallen Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

Of all the Hydes, Charles the Second probably liked "Lory," who was the very type of high Toryism, the best. The King was not very partial to this family at the time of the Duke of York's marriage, and the fact that Charles disliked his brother's choice of a wife must have been well known to the witty John Wilmot (the other Earl of Rochester), or he would never have ventured to make the following verses, when challenged by the King to fit a rhyme, on the spur of the moment, to the word Lisbon, *à propos* of the then imminent arrival in England of Katherine of Braganza :

Here's a health to Kate,
Our sovereign's mate,
Of the royal house of Lisbon ;
But the devil take Hyde,
And the Bishop beside,
That ever made her bone his bone.[2]

[1] Clarges Street, Piccadilly, a street with an interesting history of its own, if ever it should be fully written, is named after his family.

[2] At this period it was customary when a peerage became extinct to revive the title almost immediately in another family.

Lawrence Hyde did not remain long in the Square, as he was sent at Temple's recommendation on an embassy to the Hague to negotiate with the Prince of Orange for a peace on behalf of the Confederate Powers, and on his return to England he seems to have settled down at Whitehall, and never to have returned to St. James's. Until to some extent supplanted by Halifax, he was the King's most trusted adviser ; and with youth at the prow (he was well under forty when promoted to the Treasury) and pleasure at the helm, the Ship of State was steered for a time without the aid of Parliament.

Sir Joseph Williamson, Arlington's secretary and tool, and himself a former Secretary of State, was living at No. 21 (Arabella Churchill's old house), from 1679 to 1684, a period coinciding with the height of Rochester's influence at Court. The house was bought with his wife's money for £8,000, Sir Joseph having married, the year he came to live here, the weathly widow Lady Katherine O'Brien, sister of the Duke of Richmond and widow of Lord Ibrickan. Pepys calls him a "pretty knowing man, and a scholar, but, it may be, thinks himself to be too much so." He was British Plenipotentiary at the treaty of Ryswick, whither he was accompanied by Lord Pembroke. Shortly before his death he founded a school, which still flourishes in a reconstituted form hard by the east gate of the cathedral city of

The peerages of Rochester, St. Albans, and Halifax, all of them connected with the history of this Square, are cases in point.

Rochester, which he had represented in Parliament for many years.

Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, one of the great Whig Junto set up by William the Third, lived for a short time in this same house. He was a master of finance, and held successively the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury; but his name will always live in our history, in conjunction with the name of the Scottish adventurer, William Paterson, as the founder of the Bank of England.

Some years later the Duke of Dorset, who was sent to Hanover to announce the death of Queen Anne to George the First, lived here. Twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland he is considered by Horace Walpole to have been a man of dignity, caution, and plausibility. When Viceroy on the first occasion he fitted up St. Patrick's Hall in Dublin Castle, which had then been long disused, for a ball on the King's birthday. So fine were the new decorations that some unmannerly humourist observed that his Grace's *room* was better than his *company*.[1] During his second Vice-royalty the Duke was much influenced in the conduct of affairs by his youngest son, the Lord George Sackville so ill-remembered for his behaviour at the battle of Minden.

Another of William the Third's principal Ministers the Duke of Shrewsbury whose character has been eulogized by Macaulay, lived for a short time at

[1] *Letters of Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk* (1824), ii. 35.

No. 3. When Queen Anne lay a-dying the action of the Duke of Argyll secured the Treasurer's White Staff for Shrewsbury, thereby baffling the designs of Bolingbroke, who, had he obtained it for himself, intended to proclaim the Pretender so soon as the breath should be out of the Queen's body. By a strange fatality Shrewsbury's father was killed in a duel by the Duke of Buckingham in 1667, and his brother by the Duke of Grafton in 1686. He was the last High Treasurer of England, that ancient and honourable office having ever since been executed by Commissioners. An amusing story is told of his Duchess, who was a foreigner and not very well acquainted either with the English language or seemingly with the Bible. Talking one day with Lady Oxford the Duchess said, "Madam, I and my Lord are so weary of talking politics, what are you and your Lord?" Lady Oxford, who was accounted a very pious woman, only sighed and remarked that "she knew no Lord but the Lord Jehovah," to which the Duchess made answer: "Oh dear, who is that? I suppose it must be one of the new titles, for I never heard of him before!"

Shrewsbury was succeeded at No. 3 by Lord Carlisle, another former First Lord of the Treasury and the builder of Castle Howard.

At No. 4 lived the first Duke of Kent whom Lord Hervey, writing in 1733, calls "A hireling of the Court for forty years, who took it into his head at threescore to turn patriot." This malicious

estimate of his character was formed on the occasion of the inquiry by the House of Lords into the disposal of the money arising from the sale of the forfeited estates of the South Sea Company, when

NO. 4. EARL COWPER.

many former supporters of Sir Robert Walpole left him, the Duke of Kent among the number. The inquiry was refused by Walpole on behalf of the Government, but Ministers were defeated in the House of Lords on two occasions, Lord Bathurst's motion

View of St. James's Square London. | *Vue de la Place de St. Jaques a Londres.*

for an investigation being carried by a narrow majority. Lord Falmouth, another deserter at this critical juncture, has been denounced by Lord Hervey as "a blundering blockhead who spoke on one side and voted on the other;" whereupon some cynical wit observed that his lordship was evidently determined to do the Ministers all the harm he could, since he spoke for them and voted against them. The Duke of Kent, who was a great favourite with Queen Anne, was a moderate Whig in politics. He succeeded Lord Jersey as Lord Chamberlain, having bought the post, so it was whispered, from the Duchess of Marlborough. As Chamberlain he was more or less controlled by Godolphin, though his enemies asserted that he considered himself to be the real head of the party. A disastrous fire occurred at his house here in 1725, after which it was completely remodelled on the advice of Lord Burlington, who himself designed the great Louis Quinze room on the first floor overlooking the Square.[1]

The Duke of Queensberry, who took such an active part in arranging the Union with Scotland, for

[1] Bowles's view of the Square, as it appeared in 1752, represents this fine house, happily as yet undisfigured by plate glass or plaster, substantially as it appears at the present day. Since its first erection it has always remained the property of the Grey family and their descendants in the female line. It contains some good pictures by Claude, Canaletto, Lely, and others; but the fine series of portraits by Van Dyck described by Waagen in his *Art Treasures in Great Britain* has been since removed to Panshanger.

which he was rewarded by Queen Anne with a step in the English peerage and a more tangible recognition of his services in the shape of £3,000 per annum from the Post Office revenues, lived at No. 8.

Sir Spencer Compton (afterwards Earl of Wilmington), who shares with Grenville and Addington the distinction of having filled the positions of Speaker of the House of Commons and Prime Minister of England, lived at the house at the extreme south-west corner now forming the more northerly portion of the Army and Navy Club. Although incapable of occupying a foremost place with dignity and credit, George the Second at his accession wished to have made him his Prime Minister in preference to Walpole, and on the latter's fall and nominal replacement in 1742, he did actually become First Lord of the Treasury.

> Let Wilmington, with grave contracted brow,
> Red tape and wisdom at the Council show,
> Sleep in the Senate, in the circle bow.[1]

As Prime Minister he proved himself an arch-mediocrity ; but a jest of his on the Duke of Newcastle deserves to be remembered : "The Duke always loses half an hour in the morning, which he is running after the rest of the day, without being able to overtake it." [2] At the Treasury Board Lord

[1] Lord Hervey's *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second* (ed. 1884), ii. 330.

[2] Walpole's *Memoirs of George the Second*, i. 163.

Wilmington "sat first but did not lead" till his death in 1743. The third Lord Holland, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Cabinet which passed the first Reform Bill, lived in this same house in 1818–1819. He is credited with saying that there is hardly such a thing in the world as a good house or a good epitaph, notwithstanding that mankind has been employed in trying to build the former, and to write the latter, since the foundation of the universe. He was rather hard to please, seeing that he himself owned Holland House at Kensington, and seems only to have migrated from it for the few years that he spent in St. James's Square; the "favourite resort of wits and beauties, painters and poets, scholars, philosophers and statesmen," as Macaulay calls Holland House, continuing to be his home and the centre of a brilliant society till his death in 1840.

No. 10, originally the central portion of old Ormond House, was for some years the residence of Sir George Lee, George the Third's heir-apparent to the premiership, though destined never to succeed to it. On his death the house passed into the occupation of one, in whom the long roll of illustrious names connected with the Square unquestionably reaches the very summit of distinction. This was the elder Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham,[1] the great statesman for

[1] This was not the first time that he had made the Square his home; when Member for Old Sarum his address is so given from 1743—1746, though the actual house has not been identified.

whom in the space of two short years Clive laid the foundations of our Indian Empire and Wolfe, at the cost of his own life, added the dominion of Canada to the English Crown. No such extension of territory

NO. 10. LORD KINNAIRD.

has occurred within so short a time in the annals of our country either before or since ; nor probably was there ever a battle, so far reaching in its results, fought with less loss of life on the winning side than Clive's great victory at Plassey. In Lord Chatham's

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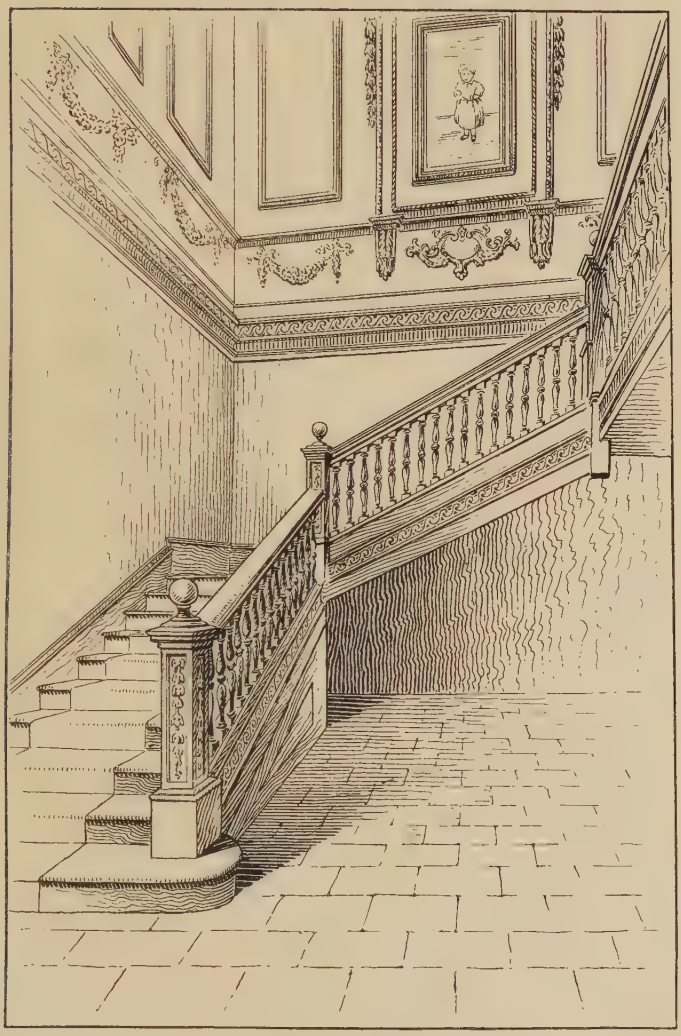

STAIRCASE AT NO. 10, THE FORMER RESIDENCE OF LORD CHATHAM, LADY BLESSINGTON, LORD DERBY, AND MR. GLADSTONE.

day such euphemistic, if illusory, phrases as "provisional protectorates" and "spheres of influence" had not been invented. What Great Britain then won by force of arms she has kept to her enduring glory.

In 1761 Sir Philip Francis (then only twenty-one) acted as his amanuensis, sometimes writing despatches in Latin and French to the great Minister's dictation. His perfect knowledge of those languages and his fine and correct penmanship were his chief recommendations. During one of Pitt's periodical attacks of the gout an informal council with two of his colleagues was being held here, and a project of which Pitt himself disapproved was being urged upon him, Francis attending on his chief as was his wont. The Minister, suffering acutely as he was, did not happen to be in the best of tempers, and on his colleagues requesting him to give reasons for his disapproval of the measure which they had met to advocate, exclaimed hastily: "My Lords, the reasons why I consider the measure injudicious are so obvious that I wonder you should require to be told them. I will venture to assert they will occur to that youth [pointing to Francis]: Speak, Francis, have you heard the question?" and, receiving an answer in the affirmative, "Then tell their lordships why I object to their proposals." It was an awful moment for the young man, but he instantly assigned reasons so much to the Minister's satisfaction that Pitt retorted on his colleagues: "I told you how it would be; you cannot answer a

boy."[1] Lord Chatham lived here throughout the war-policy and till 1762, when he removed to Jermyn Street, coming however but little to town thenceforward and residing chiefly at Hayes.

In the old home of the Bathursts (No. 20), rebuilt in 1772 from the designs of Robert Adam for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, there dwelt for some years a politician of a very different complexion from Lord Chatham. This was William Wyndham Grenville, who lived here with his widowed sister on his resigning the Speakership of the House of Commons. Many of his letters between 1789 and 1792 are dated from this house, interesting in itself as containing some of the best work of Angelica Kauffmann, who had been commissioned to decorate the interior in conjunction with Zucchi, John Joseph, and Cipriani.[2] In 1789 Grenville was Secretary of State for the Home Department, becoming Foreign Secretary in 1791 in succession to his next-door neighbour in the Square, the Duke of Leeds. A

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis;* by Parkes and Merivale. i. 52.

[2] The brothers Adam are also represented in London street-architecture by Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square and the Adelphi Terrace. Stratford Place is, or rather was, the most successful example of their original idea of giving to a number of buildings, comparatively unimportant in themselves, an appearance of stateliness and grandeur when considered as a whole. The pristine symmetry of this, like many another London street, is now marred by the indiscriminate addition of extra storeys, chimney-pots, and wires overhead.

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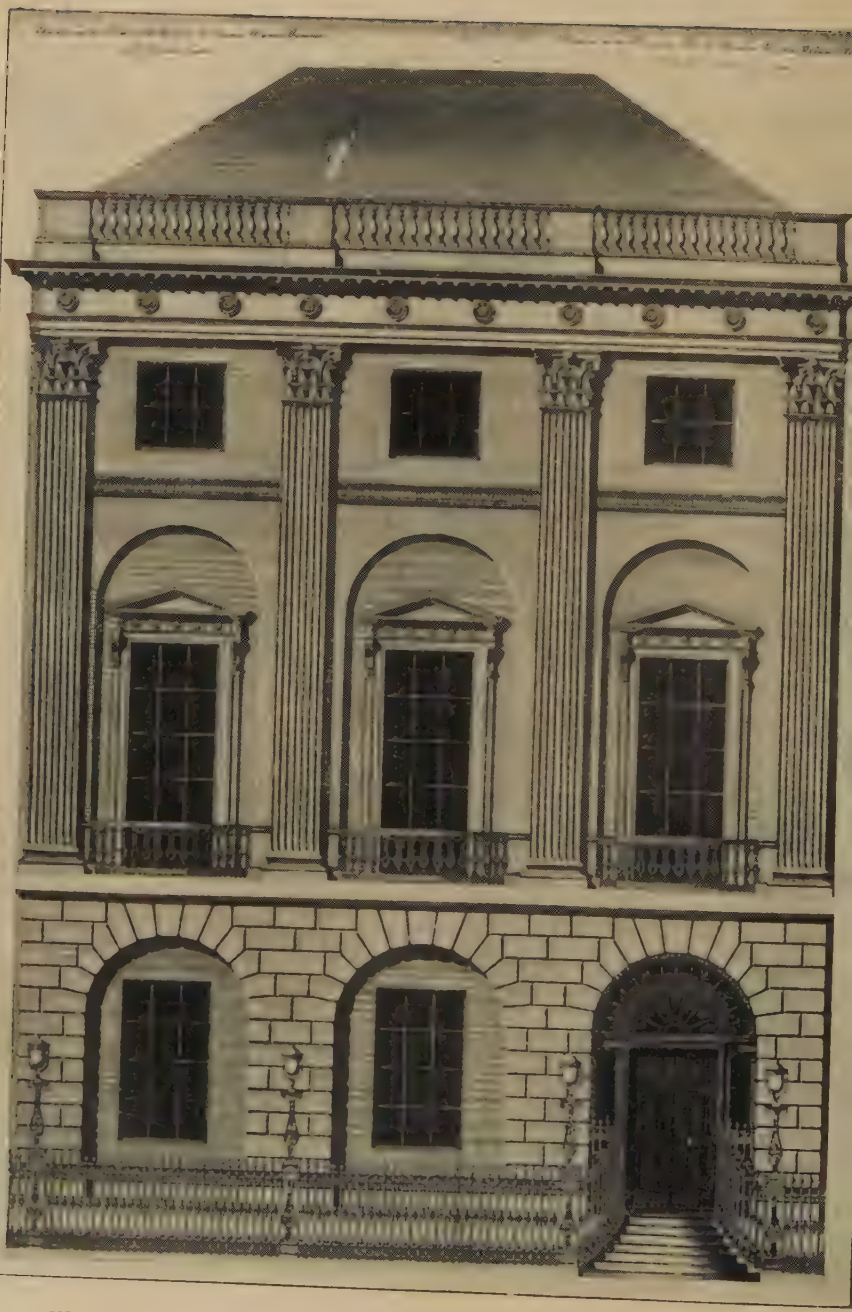

SIR WATKIN WYNN'S HOUSE (NO. 20) AS DESIGNED BY ROBERT ADAM. 1772.

remarkable instance of the changes which a century may effect in the executive functions and responsibilities of the Home Secretary may here be cited. In 1790 we find Grenville writing to the King asking him to respite a woman condemned to be burned alive (in St. Sepulchre's Parish) for coining, on the ground that a bill was then pending in Parliament to alter the sentence to hanging; but the request is apparently made, not so much from motives of humanity, as on account of the great inconvenience and disorder acknowledged to be caused to the inhabitants of that part of the town by the customary procedure in these cases.[1] Grenville became Prime Minister of the Administration of "All the Talents" in 1806; but this brilliant combination of Whig intellects lasted but little more than a year, and the long spell of power enjoyed by the Tory party thenceforward prevented him from again returning to office.

When we reach the early years of the present century the name of a very eminent man is met with at the family house of the Herveys, where Lord Liverpool (then known as Lord Hawkesbury, for he did not succeed to the earldom until 1808,) took up his abode in 1803 during the absence from England of his father-in-law, the Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry. Originally chosen by Pitt to be his leader in the House of Lords, he acquired the habit in his early foreign travels of procuring

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Dropmore Papers, i 586.

correct information by his own personal inquiries, of balancing and sifting different reports, and of carefully reflecting and commenting upon those which he finally adopted. Though never in any sense a showy statesman Lord Hawkesbury rose by his own industry, tact, and ability to the great position of Prime Minister of England. Having previously filled every Secretaryship of State, his calm and sound judgment had gifted him with a shrewd insight into the characters of the men with whom he became associated, and his public utterances, if not eloquent, were straightforward and manly. Fair and candid in debate he never sought to steal a march upon his political opponents, relying upon fair play and truth to make his case good. Affectionate and sincere in private life, of unsullied integrity in his distribution of patronage even in an age of gross political corruption, invariably courteous and affable to his opponents, his character and business capacity bear striking features of resemblance to those of the late Mr. W. H. Smith. No greater tribute can perhaps be paid to Lord Liverpool's worth as a statesman than by noting the fact that he retained office for more than twice the length of time that any Prime Minister since his day, charm he never so wisely, has been able to do. Subject to periodical waves of unpopularity, his administration, owing, in no small degree, to Lord Eldon's influence with George the Third, always managed to ride out the storm. Although his foreign policy was crowned

with the triumph of Waterloo and the Treaty of Paris, the grave aspect of home affairs in 1817 compelled Lord Liverpool to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for the last time in English history; and when the Ministry had scarcely recovered from the unpopularity of the Green Bag inquiry, the trial of Queen Caroline, which the Government would willingly have averted had it possessed a free hand in the matter, operated in the same direction. Lord Liverpool, indeed, will be best remembered for the consummate tact which enabled him to keep together a Cabinet composed, in its latter days at all events, of men holding very discordant views; for when Canning was in favour of Catholic Emancipation, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were strongly opposed to it, and the question was wisely allowed to stand over till it became ripe, not for discussion but for decision.

Another distinguished member of the same administration was Castlereagh, who lived at No. 18 (the north-east corner of King Street) from 1806 till his death. Happening to be Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the time of the Union (which same post, by the way, has been the grave of many a political reputation before and since), Castlereagh, through no fault of his own, became the most unpopular Minister of the day; and although in after years his management of foreign affairs was conspicuously able, a combination of fortuitous circumstances, such as the failure of the

Walcheren expedition and his duel with Canning, drove him temporarily from office. His persistent unpopularity became accentuated when, at the time of Queen Caroline's trial, that unfortunate princess took up her abode at Lady Francis's house next door, proceeding daily to the House of Lords amidst the cheers of the same mob which had assembled in the Square to hoot the obnoxious Minister. In a scarce and scurrilous little book, printed in 1820, called *The Protocol, or Selections from the contents of a Red Box found in the neighbourhood of St. James's Square*, are some rather witty verses purporting to be written by Castlereagh, beginning,

> We've made a g—n b—g and we've filled it with papers,

to be used against the Queen at her trial, but which, he tells his colleagues will not, in his opinion, stand the test of examination. His courage and presence of mind were proverbial; "the word 'fear' was not in his vocabulary," writes Emma, Lady Brownlow, who knew him well. When a riotous mob smashed his drawing-room windows he closed his own shutters with the utmost nonchalance and composure, though a perfect shower of missiles was crashing around him. Lady Brownlow also relates an adventure he once met with in London, the account of which she had from his own lips. Accompanied only by Lord Clanwilliam, his private secretary, he had gone on foot to the hustings in Covent Garden to record his vote at a Westminster election. Being recognised by

the rabble they were hustled and followed into St. Martin's Lane, where (the mob having meanwhile assumed a very threatening aspect) they thought it prudent to enter a shop, supposing that their unwelcome followers would shortly disperse. They did not, however, do so; and Lord Clanwilliam volunteered to creep out on all-fours, and, gliding between the legs of the besiegers, to obtain aid from Bow Street. This he gallantly did, after sundry knocks and buffetings, returning in due course to his beleaguered chief with a small party of constables. Thus reinforced the pair proceeded on their way towards Whitehall still closely followed by the mob. Castlereagh then said to his companion, "We will stop at the Admiralty because it is the popular service." As they entered the gate he turned round and, taking off his hat, bowed and smiled to the crowd, saying, "Gentlemen, I thank you for your escort." They then passed through the Admiralty Office, across the Horse Guards Parade, and so home to St. James's Square.

With the death of Lord Castlereagh's widow in 1829, the history of this famous corner house as a private residence comes to an end. It was for a few years the earliest home of the Oxford and Cambridge Club previous to its removal to Pall Mall: it was then put to a like use by the Army and Navy Club, which had subsequently another temporary resting place at No. 15; and in 1846 it became the property of Mr., afterwards Sir John Kelk, who remodelled it

and disfigured its honest exterior by a mask of stucco after the ignorant and tasteless fashion of his day. Degraded to the level of a lodging-house (a fate which seems likely to befall the site of its departed neighbour, Cleveland House, on the opposite side of the street), this remnant of a stately aristocratic home is never again likely to attain to separate residential existence or further individual importance in the world of London.

Mention has been made of the conflicting views held by Lord Liverpool's Cabinet on the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation, and of the Duke of Wellington's then hostile attitude to any such concession. In after years, however, he saw that to refuse all measures of relief would bring about civil war in Ireland. Moreover,

> New Ministers when first they get in place
> Must have a care to please ;

and the Duke at last decided to grant such a measure as would remove any semblance of justification for the demand for the Repeal of the Union. He and Sir Robert Peel selected the Duke of Northumberland (a former occupant of No. 11) to carry over to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant that message of peace which, so far from engendering a better feeling between the two nations, was before long to be made the basis of fresh demands for Repeal. The Duke of Northumberland's appointment was thought to be a very good one, in spite of the fact that he had up

to this time voted steadily against the Catholics; but he was always one of the great Duke's most devoted admirers, and so soon as his chief threw in his lot with Emancipation he was ready to do the same. Greville says, in his spiteful manner, that his Grace was "a very good sort of a man, with a very narrow understanding, an eternal talker, and a prodigious bore."

The Duke was replaced at No. 11 by Hudson Gurney, the antiquary and verse-writer, and head of the old Norfolk family of that name refounded by John Gurney an eminent silk merchant at Norwich in the seventeenth century. The next owner was Mr. Henry Hoare, who made numerous alterations and improvements here, including a swimming-bath which deserves to be specially mentioned on account of its rarity as one of the features of a London house. In 1876 it became the property of Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, Bart., in whose possession it still remains.

No. 16 was from 1825 to 1843 the usual town residence of the first Marquis of Clanricarde, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and subsequently Lord Privy Seal in Lord Palmerston's first Administration. He once likened Daniel O'Connell, at the conclusion of a hard day's work, to an "extinct volcano," this being, it is believed, the earliest instance of the application of this felicitous phrase to a political opponent, although it has since been adopted by Lord Beaconsfield and other debaters in search of a terse and descriptive

definition of their antagonists.[1] Lord Clanricarde came to the Square on his marriage with Canning's daughter; but the house was soon let and a great name occurs in connection with it in 1828–29, when it was occupied by the Marquis Wellesley, the Great Duke's brother, on his resigning the Vice-Royalty of Ireland.[2]

Lichfield House (No. 15) deserves to be specially mentioned as having been the scene of a political compact between the regular Opposition and a discredited Parliamentary faction headed by Daniel O'Connell, the occasion being an early phase of that still thorny question, the retention of the Irish Members (and more especially their votes) in the Imperial Parliament. Lord Melbourne was then in opposition to Sir Robert Peel, and Greville tells us in his Memoirs that the Whigs expected to defeat the Government at the opening of the Parliamentary session of 1835:

[1] A somewhat similar expression has, however, been attributed to John Wilkes.

[2] This house was occupied by the Prince of Wales's Club in 1846, an ephemeral society replaced here the next year by the almost equally short-lived Free Trade Club, of which perhaps the only surviving member is (1895) the Right Hon. Charles Villiers, the veteran member for Wolverhampton. He, Richard Cobden, and John Bright seem to have made it for a time their place of residence as well as their club. In 1850 the house was rented from Lord Clanricarde for £600 a year by the newly formed East India United Service Club, and in 1861 the freehold of the building was acquired for £14,000. The adjoining house (No. 17) was soon after bought for £14,500, and rebuilt with No. 16 at a total cost of £25,188.

"The union with O'Connell is complete, however long it may last, and he has agreed to give up Repeal and they are to find some lucrative place for him when they get in again"; and later on he writes: "Lichfield tells me they feel no difficulty as to making another government under Melbourne's auspices." The sequel to this compact was that Ministers were defeated three times within a week in a full House of Commons, on April 3rd, 6th, and 7th, and on the following day Sir Robert Peel tendered his resignation to the King. Greville credits Lord Lichfield with being of "an excellent disposition, liberal, hospitable, frank and gay, quick and intelligent"; but qualifies all this by adding that he was "extravagant and imprudent, and without cultivation." [1]

[1] Lichfield House was rebuilt between 1763 and 1765 for Thomas Anson, by James Stuart, part author of the *Antiquities of Athens*, who, from his intimate acquaintance with Grecian architecture, was popularly known as "Athenian Stuart." The house, as it stands, is an early example of a London mansion without a wide entrance-hall lit by a side-window; for, having but a narrow frontage to work upon, the architect substituted a comparatively cramped entrance lit by a fan-light over the front door for the roomier hall of earlier days, thereby gaining extra width for the reception-rooms on the ground-floor. The scene of the compact with O'Connell is believed to have been the library at the back. The large room on the first floor, overlooking the Square, is one of the handsomest in St. James's. In 1856 the Anson family sold this fine house, which is said to have cost £60,000 to build, to the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society for £12,750, this being probably by far the cheapest transfer of freehold property which has occurred in the Square during the last half century.

Turning from politicians to Naval and Military Commanders who have made the Square their home, the catalogue, exclusive of those already mentioned

NO. 15. LICHFIELD HOUSE.

in these pages,—the participators in the Civil Wars and in the battle of Sedgemoor—is not a long one.

At No. 14 there was living at the beginning of the eighteenth century a certain Lady Crew, and though she was already twice a widow, we find Lord Harley announcing her third marriage in a gossiping

letter to the Duke of Newcastle dated September, 1704: "The newspapers in all parts of Europe are full of a sea-fight, but this town is so malicious as to say there will be a battle between the Earl of Torrington and his new lady before there is one between Sir George Rooke and the Count de Toulouse." The unimpeachable evidence of the rate-book confirms Harley's announcement, for thenceforward we find that the rates were paid by the Admiral, concerning whose conduct at the battle with de Tourville off Beachy Head naval historians are not even now agreed. Torrington, at any rate, saw no further service afloat, and dying in 1716 was replaced here by Edward Harrison, the late Governor of Fort St. George (Madras), our earliest Indian possession.[1]

This, admittedly the worst house in the Square, was taken in 1781 by Lord Cadogan, the Master of the Mint, who remained here till 1787 when he removed to Hanover Square. This would now be thought a poor substitute for Chelsea House; but it must be remembered that, when Lord Cadogan came to live here, the immensely valuable London property which his father had acquired by marriage with Sir Hans Sloane's daughter was quite undeveloped as a

[1] On his return to England Governor Harrison entered the House of Commons as Member for Hertford, but resigned his seat on accepting the lucrative office of Post-Master General in conjunction with Mr. Carteret. His daughter, who married Lord Townshend, is the supposed original of Lady Bellaston in *Tom Jones*.

building estate. Hans Place and Cadogan Place were as yet open fields, and even Sloane Street, connecting Belgravia with what Dickens calls "the barbarism of Chelsea," was only just projected.

A more distinguished owner of the same house was Jeffrey, Lord Amherst, the captor of Montreal. Besides reducing Canada this brave soldier was twice Commander-in-Chief of the Army and in the year before his death the tardy recipient of a Field-Marshal's bâton.

Lord Rosslyn, who was for the greater part of his long life a soldier, lived at No. 12, in succession to his uncle Lord Chancellor Loughborough, from 1806 till 1832. Abandoning "the pomp and circumstance of war" for the more matter-of-fact arena of politics he entered the Ministry as a personal friend of the Duke of Wellington, to whom indeed he owed all his political, and much of his military, advancement. A strong Tory of the old school, he acted as Whip to his party in the House of Lords, becoming eventually Lord Privy Seal in the Duke's own Cabinet and President of the Council in Sir Robert Peel's first administration.

Lord Rosslyn was succeeded at No. 12 by Lord King (afterwards Earl of Lovelace), who, having soon afterwards married Ada, "sole daughter of my house and heart," became Byron's son-in-law. On his marriage Lord King rebuilt the house in its present shape, but leaving the Square some years later, it was next inhabited by the Lord Eglinton who will always

be remembered for the tournament organised by him at his Ayrshire home. Lord Eglinton won the Derby in 1849 with the Flying Dutchman, thus making the second of three owners of the winner of the Blue Riband of the Turf connected with the Square, the others being the Duke of Portland, who won the great race at Epsom in 1819 with Tiresias, and the late Lord Falmouth, who carried it off with Kingcraft in 1870 and with Silvio in 1877.

CHAPTER VII

MEN OF SCIENCE, MEN OF LETTERS, AND PATRONS OF THE ARTS

Two Presidents of the Royal Society who lived in the Square have already been noticed in Sir Joseph Williamson and Sir Cyril Wyche. A third in the person of John Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, lived at No. 14, but history does not record that he did much to advance the cause of science. He seems indeed to have been chiefly remarkable for his miserly disposition, and so mean was he to all about him that he starved his dependents and himself lived in excessive and habitual penury. As Governor of Jamaica he amassed a large fortune, a very singular anecdote being related of him in that capacity. Not only is he accused of having carried several "shauntlemen of Wales" with him to the West Indies and sold them there for slaves, but it is reported that he actually sold his own private chaplain to a blacksmith, rather than incur the expense of bringing him back to England at the expiration of his term of office.[1] Lord Carbery's

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Verney Papers; appendix to Seventh Report, 1879, p. 508.

only daughter and heiress married the Duke of Bolton, whose second wife was the charming actress Lavinia Fenton, the original Polly Peachum of *The Beggars' Opera*; an impersonation which is said to have made "Gay Rich and Rich Gay."

A more agreeable connection of the Square with the scientific world is that of the second Earl of Macclesfield, President of the Royal Society in 1764. His fame rests chiefly upon his mathematical attainments, and these stood him in good stead when carrying through the Bill for the reformation of the Calendar in 1752, when eleven days were dropped between the 2nd and 14th of September. Lord Chesterfield is said to have been the first to recommend the assimilation of the British Calendar to that of other European countries, but so unpopular was the measure that, when the Bill passed, Lord Macclesfield's carriage was pursued by an angry mob clamouring for the days by which, as they chose to suppose, their lives had been shortened.[1] Lord Macclesfield died at No. 11, during his tenure of office. Horace Walpole mentions his lying in state here, and some of Lady Betty Germain's guests waiting in a crowd upon the doorstep to gain admission to the chamber of death.

Lord Macclesfield's successor in the chair of the Royal Society, the Earl of Morton, a true lover of

[1] Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, i. 517, and ii. 2. The Register of St. James's Church has the following entry: "1752. Sept. 2. N.B. eleven days annihilated by Act of Parliament."

science and a warm friend of all who adorned it, also lived in the Square at the commencement of the reign of George the Third. He took an active part in the preparations made for observing the transit of Venus in 1769, but he did not live to see their result, as he died in the course of the previous year.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield, the celebrated letter-writer and diplomatist, was born at what is now London House, then occupied by his father, on September 22nd, 1694, and christened in St. James's Church hard by on the 9th of October following. Cynical, immoral, and heartless as he became in after life, his connection with this neighbourhood in early infancy gives rise to an inevitable reflection on the changes which time would have wrought in his character and personal appearance when he returned to the Square in 1727, a selfish, ugly, stunted, courtly man of the world, with more acquaintances than friends and more enemies than either. His choice of a residence in this locality is one of many instances in which public men seek to return in after life to the scene of their childhood. Chesterfield remained at No. 18, at the corner of King Street, until his marriage in the autumn of 1733 to Melosina, Countess of Walsingham, when he removed to a roomier house in Grosvenor Square, and thence in 1749 to Chesterfield House, Mayfair.

A poet and playwright, who achieved the distinc-

tion of imprisonment in the Tower of London (what would not some modern aspirants for the Laureate's bays, now that the days of rack and thumbscrew are over, give for similar notoriety !), in George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, the author of *The Progress of Beauty*, is perhaps the only bard whom St. James's Square can claim for her own.[1] A Minister of Queen Anne he was rewarded with a peerage for his services to the State, and not for his poems or his plays, which, though heavy enough in all conscience, were not at the time considered of sufficient weight, or scurrility, to justify either promotion or incarceration. After he had regained his liberty he lived for a short time at No. 13, and his oratorical powers, as displayed in the House of Lords, are said to have contributed to the repeal by Sunderland of the Occasional Conformity Act.

The fifth Duke of Leeds who rebuilt No. 21 (sometimes known as Winchester House) in its present shape from the designs of Robert Bretting-ham, was an earnest student of dramatic literature. He even perpetrated a comedy on his own account, which the proprietors of Drury Lane had not the temerity to submit to the criticism of the public.

Sir Philip Francis, the reputed Junius, lived at No.

[1] To the second volume of the edition of his works published in 1732 is prefixed a curious view of the Mall and the adjoining houses in St. James's, with gallants and belles promenading. The scene of his *Once a Lover, and Always a Lover* is laid in St. James's Park.

17 from 1790 till his death. Writing to his dear friend Sir Thomas Chambers in April, 1791, he says: "In my situation there has been no sort of change, except that I have removed into a very convenient house in St. James's Square, where I believe I am at anchor for life. The name of the situation sounds well, but you would be much mistaken in concluding that I lived in a palace, or at all like a prince."[1] His choice of this locality for a permanent residence was inspired by recollections of his early visits to the elder Pitt at No. 10, when the "St. Paul's boy" was acting as the Minister's secretary. A bitter opponent of Warren Hastings, by the irony of fate he found himself living next door to Thurlow, whose impassioned oration at the close of the long trial contributed so much towards the great Proconsul's acquittal. The house was lent by Sir Philip's widow to Queen Caroline during her trial, and in the author's possession is a rudely executed print (reproduced on the opposite page) entitled "The Manner in which the Queen proceeded daily from Lady Francis's house in St. James's Square to the House of Lords."

Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford, lived at No. 3 during some portion of the time that his more celebrated father was a prisoner in the Tower of London. An intimate friend of Swift, Prior, Pope, and all the leading literary men of his day, he formed the collection known as the Harleian MSS. and sold to the British Museum by his widow. She

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, ii. 295.

The Manner in which the Queen proceeded daily from Lady Francis's House, St. James's Square, to the House of Lords.

[*From a contemporary print in the Author's possession.*

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WANDSWORTH, S.W.

is said to have brought him a fortune of half a million, £400,000 of which he dissipated by indolence, good nature, and want of worldly wisdom.

A yet greater bibliophile was John, Duke of Roxburgh, who bought No. 13 from Lord Ossory in 1795, and lived there till his death in 1804. By his will he directed his property to be sold; but this could not be done forthwith, as, on the death, in the following year, of the next holder of the title, a long competition arose for the dukedom, which was not finally decided in favour of the claimant who subsequently became the fifth Duke of Roxburgh until 1812. The magnificent library collected by the third Duke was eventually dispersed here between May 18th and July 8th in that same year, the sale extending over no less than forty-two days. The auctioneer was Evans of Pall Mall, and the entire collection, comprising 9,353 lots, realised £23,241. The Valdarfer Boccaccio, printed at Venice in 1471, was sold for £2,260, this being the largest sum ever given for a single volume up to that time, and a copy of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, the first book in the English language, printed by Caxton, and by him presented to the Queen of Edward the Fourth, brought £1,060.

After two or three changes of ownership the Duke's house was bought by the Windham Club in 1836, and some of the bookcases left in the house as fixtures are still in use in the Club library. Founded so long ago as 1828 by Lord Nugent and others at a

house (then numbered 106) in Pall Mall, which had been the residence of the Rt. Hon. William Windham, for "gentlemen united to each other by a common bond of literary or personal acquaintance,"

NO. 13. WINDHAM CLUB.

the Club takes its name from that distinguished statesman who has been described as the very "model of a true English gentleman"; nor could any social assembly desire a better paternity. In 1829 the Club removed from Pall Mall to Lady Blessington's house in

the Square, only staying there however until it could find a permanent home at No. 13.[1] Unostentatious in appearance, and established in premises not originally the best suited to the requirements of a modern club, the Windham has nevertheless, after many years of combined prosperity and careful management, acquired a well-deserved celebrity for its comfort, its cook, and its cellar. It was also the first of the London clubs to extend its hospitality to strangers. Whether the literary proclivities of the original body of members have been perpetuated to the extent which the founders of the Club contemplated, it is not for us to inquire; but the mere sight of the bookcases which still adorn the library once owned by the Duke of Roxburgh cannot fail (even if not quite so well filled as formerly) to supply an incentive to study which no social and educated fraternity can afford wholly to disregard.

The eighth Earl of Pembroke, virtuoso, man of fashion, and Minister of the Crown, lived for nearly fifty years at No. 12. He is alluded to by Pope under the name of Curio in the Moral Essays where his taste is said to have leaned towards "statues, dirty gods, and coins." Of the first mentioned he formed a select inanimate menagerie in St. James's

[1] Almost without exception the writers of books dealing with the history of this neighbourhood state that Windham lived at No. 13 St. James's Square. The mistake arose with Peter Cunningham, the sun at which most successive local historians have lit their torch.

Square, many of which treasures are now at Wilton. This versatile nobleman carried the sword of justice at the coronation of four successive sovereigns, was an executor of Nell Gwynne's will, and besides holding many important offices of State, he was the last Lord High Admiral of England not being a royal personage. Lord Pembroke in his youthful days drew his sword at the Duke's Theatre in support of Nell Gwynne, a hubbub having arisen in the playhouse from a supposed affront offered by one of the audience to that popular favourite ; and a great many years later his third and last wife headed the Cuzzoni faction which assembled at the Opera House in the Haymarket to hiss the rival *prima donna* Faustina. The latter was supported by Lady Burlington and Lady Delawarr, and, being the better looking of the two, by most of the male portion of the audience. Handel also cast the weight of his influence on the side of Faustina in this burning controversy, in which Lady Pembroke carried her animosity to such lengths that the following epigram was written and widely circulated at the time :

> Old poets sing that beasts did dance
> Whenever Orpheus played ;
> So to Faustina's charming voice
> Wise Pembroke's asses brayed.

The directors of the opera were in despair as these violent manifestations of partisan feeling brought the performances into disrepute ; but they contrived to

extricate themselves from the dilemma in a very ingenious manner. The time for a new contract with each of these celebrated singers was at hand, and they agreed to give Faustina a salary exceeding by one guinea that of her rival. Lady Pembroke and other friends of Cuzzoni hearing this, made their *protégée* swear never to take less than Faustina ; but on the directors continuing firm in their determination, Cuzzoni found herself ensnared by her own oath, and she shortly afterwards shook the dust of England off her feet in disgust, and returned to the Continent.

In the first state of Sutton Nicholls's view of the Square (reproduced in this volume at page 62), as it appeared early in the eighteenth century, and before the plate was altered to show the ornamental basin of water in the centre finished in 1727, a hatchment is seen over the doorway of No. 12, and is no doubt intended to represent that set up by Lord Pembroke either to the memory of his first wife (Margaret Sawyer), who died in 1706, or of his second. This view, which is now extremely rare, was afterwards used (in its altered form) for the edition of Stow's *Survey of London* published in 1754–5.

For some years after Lord Pembroke's death No. 12 was inhabited by his widow, his successor in the title removing to a house in the Privy Garden, Whitehall. The old home of the Herberts in St. James's Square passed into the possession of the Sturt family early in the reign of George the Third,

and many of its subsequent occupiers are noted elsewhere in these pages.

The Hon. George Hobart, who lived for some years at Derby House, was at one time connected with the performances at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. In common with all who venture upon the thorny path of operatic management he had many difficulties to contend with, many conflicting interests to reconcile, and many petty jealousies to overcome. About the time that he undertook the management of the great Opera House, the notorious Mrs. Theresa Cornelys started a rival musical entertainment at Carlisle House in Soho Square, but was promptly restrained, at Hobart's instance, from continuing representations of opera under the guise of Harmonic Meetings. Guadagni, her principal star, was arrested, and Mrs. Cornelys herself was fined for the infringement of Hobart's monopoly.

The history of Italian Opera in this country has yet to be written, though the great building in the Haymarket will always be closely associated with the immortal names of Handel and Haydn, many of whose works were first performed therein. In Hobart's day the performances were of a very miscellaneous character; when opera did not pay, the management varied the programme with masked balls, and during Lent oratorios were given. But little can be gleaned from contemporary writings of the performances under Hobart's rule, as so many of the fashionable audience went to see and to be

seen rather than to hear. We learn, however, that the price of admission to non-subscribers was half-a-guinea ; that the curtain went up at half-past six or at seven o'clock at the latest ; and that the management found it necessary to advertise that on no account whatsoever could visitors be admitted either behind the scenes or on the stage itself. This, indeed, was no new managerial difficulty. Nearly a century earlier Dryden had written :

> "We beg you, last, our scene-room to forbear,
> And leave our goods and chattels to our care."

And Etherege makes one of the characters in his *Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*, say of Dorimant (John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester) : "I'll lay my life there's not an article but he has broken ; talked to the vizards in the pit ; waited upon the ladies from the boxes to their coaches ; gone behind the scenes and fawned upon those little insignificant creatures, the Players."

Piccini, a rival of Gluck, and one of Marie Antoinette's many Italian singing-masters, was the most favoured composer ; his comic opera *La Buona Figliuola* being performed more frequently in London than the works of any of his contemporaries, though at the patent houses the insipid melodies of Dr. Arne found much favour. Piccini's long-forgotten work was also the vogue in most European opera-houses. An emasculated version of *Orfeo* was however given on the last night of the season in 1770, when it was

described in the bills as a "new serious opera," but labelled as the joint production of Gluck, Bach (one of the many musicians of this name, and of course not the great John Sebastian), and Guglielmi. The last named was a second-rate Italian composer who was in England at the time and, with his wife, associated in the production of the Lenten oratorios aforesaid. The theatre was burnt down in 1789, when the heat of the conflagration was powerfully felt in Charles Street and even so far as the Square itself.

The first stone of the new theatre was laid with great ceremony in the presence of some four thousand spectators, by the head of the Hobart family in the following year. We have seen in an earlier chapter how the corner-stone of Vanbrugh's original building was laid by the "little Whig"; on this occasion the family motto of the Hobarts, *Auctor pretiosa facit*, was inscribed on the foundation-stone.[1]

We have taken note of the literary treasures formerly stored in one or two of the houses in the Square, but the coming of the Duke of Portland to live at No. 13 in 1819 recalls the fact of his having owned a priceless work of art beside which the Duke of Roxburgh's books pale into comparative insignifi-

[1] When the new house, which was erected from the designs of Michael Novosielski, a scene-painter employed at the old theatre, was finished, the Drury Lane Company under Kemble performed here at enhanced prices, while their own house was being rebuilt; but in 1793 Opera returned to its earliest home, and with the productions of Cimarosa it may be said to have entered upon a new lease of life.

cance. This was the famous Barberini or Portland Vase, deposited by him in the British Museum, wherein, by a most cruel fate, it was smashed to pieces by a fanatic named William Lloyd in 1845. Such was then the defective state of the law with regard to the punishment of such outrages that this miscreant actually escaped with a fine of £3 (the value of the glass case under which the vase stood) and an imprisonment of only a few hours. This celebrated antique, which even in its mutilated state is one of the chief ornaments of the National collection, was brought to England by Sir William Hamilton in 1784. It was then bought by the Duchess of Portland, in whose possession it remained till her death. In 1786 her collection was put up for sale, but the vase was bought in by the family at the ridiculously low figure of £1,029. Josiah Wedgwood, who had been anxious to buy it himself, next obtained temporary possession of it for the purposes of artistic copy, and by 1789 he had succeeded in making a perfect reproduction of it. He sold a considerable number of copies at £50 apiece, which, when offered for sale at the present day, command about four times that sum. One of these copies is to be seen in the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, and therefore almost within a stone's throw of the former owner's residence in the Square. In Wedgwood's opinion (and a better authority could not be desired) it could not be executed in our times for £5,000, even if the designer were to devote half a lifetime to the work. It now occupies the post of honour

in what is known as the Gold Ornament Room at the Museum, that universal store-house of the tools of knowledge, wherein has lately been placed as a fitting pendant the enamelled gold cup of the Kings of France and England, dating from the fourteenth century, which (though the Government of the day was too niggardly to buy it) was fortunately secured to the nation by private liberality.[1]

After the death of the great potter, the younger Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Byerley removed the show-rooms of the firm to No. 8 in the Square, the house at the south-east corner of York Street; and it remained the emporium of this celebrated artistic family until 1830.

Lady Di Beauclerk, the beautiful and accomplished artist, was often employed by the Wedgwoods to whom she had been introduced by Charles James Fox, which circumstance must have caused her to occasionally revisit the scene of her early married life. Her first husband, the second Viscount Bolingbroke, settled at No. 7 on his marriage. But Lady Di, like many of the fairest of her sex, had "a mind for love but still a changing mind," and ten years later her intimacy with Topham Beauclerk caused a great scandal in fashionable circles. Of the signs of love her husband saw plenty, but of its proofs he experienced but few; and at last the

[1] For a better account of the Portland Vase see Meteyard's *Life of Wedgwood*, ii. 577, and Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's account in the Classical Museum, vi. 253.

matter became so notorious, that he took steps to obtain a divorce.

Lord Bolingbroke's house, which has now been the property of the Egerton family for close upon one hundred years, was once the property of the second Earl of Radnor of the Robartes family, who succeeded Lord Ranelagh here. He was, like his father before him, a great patron of the fine arts, employing the leading painters of the day to decorate his rooms. Some of the mural decorations remaining here are perhaps of this date. The sprawling saints of Verrio and Laguerre were then the fashion, and there is reason to believe that Lord Radnor employed the latter artist.

CHAPTER VIII

AMBASSADORS, DIVINES, LAWYERS, MERCHANTS, MEN OF FASHION, DUELLISTS, AND RAKES

For more than one hundred years St. James's Square was a favourite locality with ambassadors from all the principal European Powers. The French, the Dutch, the Austrian, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Prussian, the Hanoverian, the Swedish and the Venetian Embassies were all housed here within the aforesaid period, though the Square has now for many years ceased to attract the representatives of foreign Courts. The house at the south-east corner of York Street (No. 8) was first occupied, through Lord St. Albans's favour, by Honoré Courtin, the second emissary of Louis the Fourteenth of France to bear that name.[1] For his use the adjoining chapel in York Street, which has only disappeared from the list of London places of worship within recent memory, must have been

[1] His predecessor, Antoine Courtin, came over to this country in 1665, when he was located at Exeter House in the Strand.

built; for in the rate-books of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields for 1676 three small tenements "against the French Chapel" are enumerated under the heading of the "Turning down to the Square," the earliest name by which York Street was officially known. Though the rates were sometimes paid by Sir Cyril Wyche, the house was still used by the French Ambassador when not required by its owner; and Luttrell states that Charles the Second dined in great state at the Embassy in August, 1682, when most of the other foreign envoys in London were present, and there was a display of fireworks in honour of the birth of the Dauphin's son.

In 1686 the rates were levied directly upon Barillon, Courtin's successor. On the occasion of the Anti-Papist demonstrations which preceded the flight of the King in December, 1688, the Embassy was visited by a disorderly rabble, but, in common with several of his neighbours, Barillon applied for military protection, and the rioters on assembling in the Square found themselves confronted by a considerable body of troops. By this prompt action all attempts at pillage in St. James's were averted, though the house (among others) of the Spanish Ambassador, who was then living at Wild House near Lincoln's Inn Fields, was sacked and set on fire by the mob, a similar attack being made on that of the Florentine Minister in the Haymarket.

The next tenant of No. 8, after it had ceased to be the French Embassy, was Henry Jermyn, Earl

of Dover, *Le Petit Germain* of Grammont and a nephew of Lord St. Albans. He had good reason to remember the neighbourhood, having fought a duel in St. James's Fields in 1662, when he was wounded and his second killed outright. Master of the Horse to James the Second, he followed that king to France on his abdication, and commanded a troop at the Boyne, but afterwards made his submission to William. Thenceforward he lived in comparative seclusion, removing from the Square to Albemarle Buildings. He died at Cheveley near Newmarket in 1708.

Mention has been made in an earlier chapter of the grand displays of fireworks held in the Square after the Peace of Ryswick, in addition to which the Heer Van Citters, the Dutch Ambassador, who then lived at No. 13, kindled a huge bonfire in front of his house on the day appointed for a thanksgiving by the States General. It consisted of one hundred and forty pitched barrels placed pyramidically on seven scaffolds. A continuous fanfare of trumpets was sounded during the time that it was blazing, and hogsheads of wine were kept running among the common people. Public illuminations are now arranged on such economical principles, nearly everything of the kind in England being left to private enterprise, that the populace may well sigh for a revival of those brave old days in the Square when loyalty and patriotism were stimulated by copious draughts of ale and wine at the same time as the

eye and the ear were astonished and delighted by the ingenuity of the pyrotechnist.

The state entry of an Ambassador into London was another brilliant spectacle free to its citizens long after the triumphal shows, the solemn joustings, and the religious processions of the Middle Ages had been swept away. And how dear to the hearts of Londoners an open-air pageant still is, we know from the vast crowds which wait patiently in our streets for hours, at the most inclement season of the year, to get so much as a glimpse of the Lord Mayor's Show,—a sorry spectacle enough when contrasted with the accounts which have come down to us of medieval splendour.

The Venetian Ambassadors Zeno and Giustiani made their public entry on December 15th, 1685. Landing at the Tower, they were conducted through the City in the King's own coach, followed by four of their own and many others of the principal nobility, drawn by six horses apiece, to the house (probably Derby House, Ossulston House, or Essex House) appointed for their entertainment in the Square. Great things were expected of them in London society, and they speedily announced their intention of giving two balls or masquerades every week, with "dancing and playing after the Venetian mode."

Immense sums were spent by the representatives of foreign Powers on their first arrival in England,—upon State coaches, upon the liveries of innumer-

able lacqueys and running footmen, and upon the trappings of velvet and gilt leather for the horses. But these brilliant displays did not always pass off smoothly. At the beginning of Charles the Second's reign a struggle for precedence took place between the French and Spanish Ambassadors on the occasion of the public entry into London of a representative of the Court of Sweden. D'Estrades received private intelligence from Louis the Fourteenth that General Monk had promised the Spaniard Batteville a whole regiment to enforce his claim to the foremost place in the procession, whereupon a troop of French soldiers was hastily imported from Gravelines to uphold the honour of France in the London streets. The Swedish Ambassador was all but forgotten in the public curiosity as to the result of this mimic warfare between the two great rivals. It was something more than mimic, for a desperate struggle took place in the City, and blood flowed freely. The Spaniards had the foresight to line their harness with iron so that it could not be cut, and moreover they gained an instant advantage by killing some of the French horses, thus leaving many of their more numerous opponents powerless. Pepys was among the crowd of sightseers (and, we may add, sympathisers, for when were the French popular with the great mass of Englishmen?) who saw the proud Spaniard, with fifty drawn swords around his coach, drive past the King's Mews on his way to York House. But if the honours of the day rested for the time with Spain,

the influence of Louis the Fourteenth at Madrid was sufficiently powerful to procure the recall of Batteville.

No. 3 on the east side of the Square was occupied in Queen Anne's reign by the Hanoverian Envoy, Baron Schutz, who had resided at the Court of St. James's in that capacity since the Revolution. He died in 1710, and *The Postman* (No. 1865, March 30th—April 1st), has the following : "These are to acquaint the true lovers of Art that the Hon. Baron Schutz, late Envoy of Hanover, his collection of pictures, being of the most celebrated masters, will be sold by auction on Thursday, the 6th of this instant. The sale will begin at ten in the forenoon at his late dwelling-house, on the east side of St. James's Square (a hatchment being over the door), where the pictures may be seen from Monday, the 3rd instant, to the time of sale, and catalogues to be had gratis." A later paragraph informs us that before the appointed day of sale the entire collection was bought by "a person of quality." His household goods, tapestry hangings, plate, &c., were next brought to the hammer, and from another announcement in the same paper it seems that the sale was not attended exclusively by buyers, as we read that there was "lost in an auction room in St. James's Square, the 26th instant, at Madam Schutz', between 5 and 6 o'clock, a plain gold case of a watch. Whoever brings it to Mr. Whitfield's, a surgeon in Frith Street, or to Mr. Perry, a watchmaker in Earl

Street, near the Seven Dials, shall receive a guinea reward."

The Prussian Minister Spanheim occupied Lady Dorchester's house for a short time before his death in 1710; and it is thus described in a letter to Lord Raby from his mother, preserved in the Wentworth Correspondence in the British Museum. "It is a very good house and very convenient and well built. My father [Sir Allen Apsley] had the building of it, and it cost ten thousand pound. The walls are of a great heighth, because none should overlook them, a pretty little garden and coach-house and stables for more than eight horses. It's the strongest built of all the houses in the Square; it's next door to my nephew Bathurst [and] the price is six thousand pound. The ground rent is very small, not above 15 pound a year. 'Moonsear Spannyor' lived there. In the worst of these houses one may be very easy and happy. My nephew's house [N°. 20] has six rooms of a floor besides closets and very good cellars and offices and good rooms over the stables. Lady Dorchester's is much better, it's the best in the Square."[1]

For the Spanish Ambassador (the Marquis Mon-

[1] No purchaser coming forward, Lady Dorchester and her husband, Lord Portmore, continued to inhabit it till her death in 1717. Lord Portmore subsequently bought the freehold from the Duchess of Buckingham (Lady Dorchester's daughter) for £6,400, and having expended £1,000 on the house in repairs and alterations, he returned here in 1724. See Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, iv. 326.

teleon), who rented Ormond House in 1718, the chapel in York Street, which has had such a chequered ecclesiastical career,—having been used alternately for the performance of the Mass, as a Swedenborgian place of worship, and as a chapel of ease to St. James's—was again fitted up. Nor was this the first time that Spain had been represented in the Square; for old St. Albans House was once let by Feversham to its Ambassador, and on another occasion the Portuguese Embassy occupied the same quarters. In 1696 the Venetian Embassy was at the Duke of Norfolk's house, then at the south-west corner of Charles Street; and Ossulston House was often temporarily utilised in like manner.

Lady Mary Coke mentions a dinner at the house of the Imperial Ambassador, the Count de Seilern (for whom No. 9 seems to have been leased between 1765 and 1770), in August, 1768, when she had been invited to form one of a party of twenty-four (including the cream of the Diplomatic Corps then in town) to meet the King of Denmark, who however excused himself at the last moment owing to a sudden indisposition attributed to an over-indulgence in fruit. "We were four-and-twenty at table, and a very fine dinner it was; all the rarities that could be got. I pitied the Ambassador's disappointment. In the dessert we had pillars that supported crowns and sceptres without any one to own them. The Prince of Saxe Gotha sat between Lady Holdernesse and me. After dinner Lady Holdernesse, Lord Wey-

mouth, Monsieur de Mello [Portuguese Ambassador], and Madam de Viry [wife of the Sardinian Minister] played at loo for an hour. I lost twelve guineas. The party then broke up, as Lady Holdernesse and Monsieur de Mello were engaged to the Duchess of Hamilton. I played one rubber at whisk [whist] with the Spanish Ambassador [Prince Masserano] which I lost, and then impatiently waited for my chair which did not come till half an hour after ten o'clock."[1] In April, 1769, Lady Mary met at the same house the Queen's two brothers, Lady Egremont, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Hertford, and others. Having no better luck at whist on this occasion, she went on to another card-party, where she again lost twelve guineas at loo.

Mention has been made in Chapter II. of the Countess of Warwick's house on the east side, and it is a singular coincidence that at an interval of one hundred years the same house should have been inhabited by the Rich family and by the Grevilles, both of whom were ennobled under the same title. Lord Warwick's house having become much dilapidated, it was bought for the See of London at a low figure in 1771, and first used as an episcopal residence by Richard Terrick, the one hundredth holder of the

[1] Lord Weymouth, afterwards first Marquis of Bath, was a Secretary of State. He entertained George the Third at Longleat in 1789, when one hundred and twenty-five guests slept in the house exclusive of servants; perhaps the largest house-party, not being a royal one, on record.

See since its foundation. Lowth, Beilby Porteous, and Randolph next lived here; but in 1819 an Act of Parliament was obtained by Bishop Howley to rebuild the house at an estimated cost of £10,000.

LONDON HOUSE.

This Act gave the Bishop power to borrow this sum on mortgage of property belonging to the See, bound him and his successors to insure the house at their own cost for the full value of £10,000 against accident by fire, and absolutely forbade the leasing of it.

Of late years the Bishops of London have resided almost entirely at Fulham; and the house in the Square, with associations dating back to the time of the Cavalier Lord Bellasis, the old home of the Riches, Stanhopes, Bentincks, Hamiltons, Clintons, and Grevilles, has been left empty and silent, save on those rare occasions when it is galvanised into temporary usefulness for the purposes of a charity bazaar or a missionary meeting.

An occasional visitor to the family mansion of the Herveys was that eccentric character the fourth Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry. A sketch of him is supplied in Lord Charlemont's *Memoirs:* "I remember seeing him pass by the Parliament House in Dublin. . . . . escorted by a body of Dragoons, full of spirits and talk, apparently enjoying the eager gaze of the surrounding multitude, and displaying altogether the self-complacency of a favourite Marshal of France on his way to Versailles, rather than the grave deportment of a prelate of the Church of England." But little seen in London towards the close of his life, the Bishop often let the house, on one occasion to the diplomatist George Henry Rose, the son of Pitt's great friend George Rose who is believed to have been the originator of the Ministerial whitebait dinners at Greenwich.

The Bishops of Winchester, tiring of the suburbs, effected a lodgment in the Square in 1829, when they bought No. 21 from the Duke of St. Albans who married Harriet Mellon. The first prelate of the order

of the Garter to take up his abode here was Bishop Sumner. Bishops Wilberforce and Harold Browne complete the connection of the See with this house which is now used as a branch of the War Office.

The same house was once occupied by the first great lawyer who ever lived in the Square, Lord Chancellor Somers. In October, 1700, he surrendered the keys of Powis House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which there had been some idea of making the permanent official residence of the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and came to St. James's. Somers, who will always be memorable for his defence of the seven Bishops against the tyranny of James the Second, was impeached (and acquitted) soon after his coming here.

Another Lord Chancellor who lived in the Square during his early Parliamentary career was Lord Apsley, son of the first Lord Bathurst who was one of the principal Tory leaders in the House of Lords in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole.

Lord Thurlow, twice Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, and probably the worst-mannered man who ever attained to that high position, came to live at Lord Chesterfield's old house at the corner of King Street in 1794. Having resisted Pitt's Loan Bill in the House of Lords (it had passed the Lower House without difficulty), the Prime Minister procured his dismissal from office at the hands of the King, and wrote to Thurlow to say that he was "convinced of the impossibility of his Majesty's service being

any longer carried on with advantage, while your Lordship and myself both remain in our present situations." After his retirement he passed most of his time at a villa near Dulwich, then a pleasant suburban village, making but rare appearances in the House of Lords, which assembly he now visited as a private individual, scarcely recognisable by the members of that august body who remembered him frowning arrogantly from the Woolsack in the days of his power. Temporarily emerging from his repose, he delivered a damaging attack upon his successor, Lord Loughborough, in the course of the trial of Warren Hastings, and pulverising his opponent's argument in a memorable speech, he unquestionably contributed largely to the triumphant verdict of acquittal in which that long persecution culminated. His final retirement from public life coincides with the date of his leaving the Square. After speaking once more in the House, which he had formerly ruled so ably, during the debate on the Peace of Amiens, the great "Law lion," as he has been not inappropriately termed, disappears from view to roar in public no more. His successor on the Woolsack, Lord Loughborough, a mild man in comparison to "rude Boreas," also lived in the Square (at No. 12) for a short time. He showed courage and promptitude when Attorney-General at the time of the Gordon Riots, but in the highest judicial office he proved a failure.

Lord Ellenborough, "a man of gigantic intellect

but of great faults," and the only Lord Chief Justice who ever had a seat in the Cabinet, rented Lichfield House before he bought No. 13 from the Duke of Roxburgh's heirs. His coming to the Square is believed to be the first instance of a Common Law Judge living in the West End of London, as before his day they all lived within half a mile radius of Lincoln's Inn. To give an idea of the size and solidity of his new house to an old lawyer who lived in Chancery Lane, he wrote: "Sir, if you let off a piece of ordnance in the hall, the report is not heard in the bed-rooms." Allowing for a little pardonable exaggeration, the experiment would hardly be unattended with risk in any house built in the present century.

Lord Grey, who himself occupied Lichfield House for one year (1819), is said to have declared that of all the acts of the Administration of 1806 there was nothing he so deeply regretted as having ever consented to let Ellenborough into it. Another very unfavourable estimate of his character is conveyed in a letter of Lord Melville to Lord Lowther: "The more one thinks of it the more astonished must he be at the impropriety of placing Lord Ellenborough in the Cabinet. If it had ever been customary to admit other Chief Justices into the Cabinet, the character, temper, and vulgarity of his Lordship would have afforded a good reason for making him an exception from a general rule; but to select a person for the situation against whom there lay so many objections

is quite inexplicable."[1] Yet Ellenborough has been described by Lord Campbell as "a chief such as the rising generation of lawyers may read of and figure to themselves in imagination, but may never behold to dread or to admire." In public life he was somewhat of a bully, as indeed lawyers not unfrequently are when transplanted from their proper sphere into that of politics. He was the leading counsel for Warren Hastings and, though a Whig at first, he eventually ratted to the opposite side. So great was his wife's beauty that, when she and her husband lived in Bloomsbury Square, strangers are said to have collected opposite the house to gaze at her watering the flowers in the balcony. A near neighbour of his in St. James's,—Alexander Davison, a Government contractor and Nelson's prize-agent[2]—was once tried before him for charging commission on goods supplied by himself as agent to the Barrack-Master General, over and above the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which he was entitled to charge as the price of his skill and experience. In summing-up on the case, the Lord Chief Justice commented on the fabrication of bills of parcels and receipts, drily observing that it "seldom happened that deceit was necessary to produce an honourable or honest purpose." On another occasion Ellenborough vigorously opposed

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Lonsdale Papers, p. 198.

[2] Davison's house was No. 11, and it is possible that it may have been visited by the great sailor during one of his infrequent visits to London.

the Bill for compensating the Duke of Athol for his rights in the Isle of Man, which he thus characterised in the House of Lords : "Never did I witness a gross job present itself in Parliament in such a bodily form as this. Let us try to recover the love of people of whom we ought to be the protectors, not the spoliators." He contended that the late Duke had already received £177,000 more than he was entitled to by way of compensation for the loss of his sovereign rights ; yet the Bill passed through both Houses and received the Royal assent. Lord Campbell, in describing this incident, speaks of Bills being "smuggled through" the House of Commons, a felicitous phrase which has since passed almost into a proverb; but in these days it would pass the wit of man to conceive any measure of first-rate importance which could by any possibility be regarded as uncontentious business by the House as a whole, and the days of Parliamentary smuggling are therefore numbered with the past. Lord Ellenborough died at No. 13 in 1818, leaving a fortune of nearly a quarter of million ; and a few years later the Duke of Athol, whose compensation he had so strenuously resisted, came to live at the same house.

In such a place as St. James's Square one naturally would not expect to find any considerable number of men of business or merchants ; yet in the course of its long history some few houses have been so associated. The Bathursts were in business in St. Mary Axe before they migrated to the West End ; and the

house now owned by Lord Strafford was bought by his ancestor in 1711 from a Sir Richard Child, who supplies an early instance of a man electing to live at this end of the town while still engaged in mer-

NO. 5. EARL OF STRAFFORD.

cantile pursuits in the City. One of the Wentworths, writing to his brother in 1711 and mentioning a rumour that this same Sir Richard was about to be made a peer on payment of £10,000 down, stigmatises him as "no gentleman," though this was

probably owing to difficulties experienced in taking over the fixtures of No. 5, of which there is frequent mention in the Wentworth Correspondence in the British Museum. At all events he obtained the honour he coveted, becoming Viscount Castlemaine and eventually Earl of Tylney.

The Earl of Strafford referred to was a distinguished diplomatist and one of our plenipotentiaries at the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, when this country obtained material advantages, some of which, such as the acquisition of Newfoundland and the securing of Gibraltar to England, endure to the present day. Lord Strafford enjoyed Marlborough's private friendship although opposed to him in politics; but, on the downfall of Bolingbroke and the collapse of the Tories, he was recalled from the Hague and threatened by the Whigs with impeachment, though this vindictive course was not persisted in.[1]

Sir James Bateman, Lord Mayor of London in 1717 and Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company, is the only instance of a Lord Mayor being rated for a house in this Square during his term of office.

Sir Charles Asgill, another Lord Mayor and a wealthy city banker who rose from a very humble position to the summit of commercial prosperity and influence, lived at what is now the London Library

[1] In 1748 his son William, who succeeded him in the earldom, rebuilt the house in its present shape from the designs of Brettingham. The original accounts for this work are preserved in the Wentworth Correspondence.

for many years ; and two members of the great banking firm founded by Andrew Drummond at Charing Cross in the reign of George the Second also occupied houses in the Square. Sir Matthew Decker, an able writer on subjects connected with trade as well as a banker, owned No. 8 for many years. It was in his gardens (at Richmond) that the pine-apple is said to have been first brought to maturity in this country.[1]

Men of Fashion, Duellists, and Rakes (sometimes interchangeable terms) are found here in plenty.

The second Lord Portmore, known in the reign of George the First as "Beau Colyear," was a prominent supporter of the Turf for some forty years, and retained his activity of body set off with many personal graces when nearly eighty years of age. About 1739 he deserted St. James's for Cavendish Square, many fashionable people being attracted about that time to the more rural neighbourhood hitherto known as Marylebone Fields.

Sir Everard Fawkener, Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland and joint Postmaster with the Earl of Leicester, at one time rented Lord Pembroke's house. He was addicted to high stakes at cards and thus supplied George Selwyn with an opportunity for one of his best jests when, on seeing him lose heavily at White's he exclaimed, "Why, here's the post-boy robbing the mail!"

The next occupant of the same house was that

[1] Wotton's *Baronetage*, ii. 184.

notorious libertine the last Lord Baltimore.[1] He afterwards lived in Russell Square, where he is credited with having kept a private seraglio. Gamblers like Fawkener would not have had to go even so far as to White's Club to indulge their passion had they lived in the early years of the present century. About 1807 George Raggett opened No. 21 as a gambling-hell under the high-sounding name of the Union Club, which must of course not be confounded with the club of that name established some years later in Trafalgar Square. The St. James's Union was only one of many similar ventures started by the subsequent proprietor of White's. Raggett made a practice of attending his patrons personally when high play was indulged in. "I make it a rule," he said, "never to allow any of my servants to be present when gentlemen play at my clubs, for it is my invariable custom to sweep the carpet after the gambling is over; and I generally find on the floor a few counters which pays me for my trouble of sitting up."[2] At another of his establishments in St. James's Street four players once sat down to cards on a Monday evening, and only separated at eleven on the following Wednesday morning because one of them had to attend a funeral.

There were duellists living in St. James's Square as in every other quarter of London; but the appeal

[1] He figured in a criminal trial in 1768, particulars of which may be read by the curious in the *Newgate Calendar*, iv. 330.

[2] Bourke's *History of White's*, i. 190.

to the sword was then such a universal form of arbitration among men of honour, as the phrase went, that distinction would have to be conferred rather by the breach than by the observance of the rule. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to specify the case of the unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, who left his house in the Square (now London House) early one November morning in 1712 to meet his death in Hyde Park at the hands of that "bloody villain" Mohun and the "dog" Macartney, as Swift is made to call the confederates in the vigorous language of *Esmond*. Without recapitulating the details of that well-known meeting, we may mention that it was not the first time that the Duke had been "out," as in August 1681, when known as Lord Arran, he fought a duel with Lord Mordaunt in Greenwich Park when both combatants were wounded.[1]

Robert Villiers, third Viscount Purbeck, pre-eminent among his fellow-libertines, and one of the earliest inhabitants of the Square, after being imprisoned in the Tower of London for challenging one of the Prince of Orange's suite, met his death in a duel at Liege in 1684.

Lord Gerard, another fiery young gallant who lived in the Square in the reign of Charles the Second, and the last of these wild rakes whom we need mention, was the father of the Duchess of Hamilton

[1] For a long and circumstantial account of the duel between Hamilton and Mohun see Boyer's *Political State of Great Britain*, iv. 299–329.

who was left a widow on that fatal November morning aforesaid. Henry Savile, writing to Lord Halifax in June 1677, mentions "my young Lord Gerard of Bromley, about fifteen years old," going with his mother to see Bedlam (then, as in Hogarth's day, a favourite show-place), getting embroiled with a crowd of noisy apprentices and running one of them through the body with his sword. From Bedlam the youthful sightseer was removed in custody to the Counter, there to cool his heels till such time as it pleased the King to interest himself to procure his release. A few years later he died suddenly in a drinking-bout at the Rose Tavern in Covent Garden, then a fashionable resort and often the scene of dangerous brawls. Its evil fame is noted in Shadwell's play, *The Scourers* (1691): "A man could not go from the Rose Tavern to the Piazza once but he must venture his life twice." Possibly Lord Gerard fell a victim to the Hectors, a gang of bullies resembling the Mohocks of a later age, who frequented the taverns for the doubtful glory of maiming, if not murdering outright, any besotted roysterer whom they could entice into a quarrel.

CHAPTER IX

A GROUP OF FEMALE CELEBRITIES

The Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Betty Germain, Lady Ossory, Molly Lepel, Mrs. Boehm, Lady Blessington, the Fair Stewart, Lady Dorchester.

Among a number of ladies whose names are associated with the Square, or who have made it their home as wife, widow, or maid, the names which stand at the head of this chapter deserve our special attention; though the list might, of course, be considerably amplified, for when has been the time wherein the sex has not played a powerful, though not necessarily a prominent, part in the making of history?

In the reign of Queen Anne the Duchess of Buccleugh, the same who,

> In pride of power, in beauty's bloom,
> Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb,

came to live at the house which had in former days been the French Embassy. The spelling of her

name, or rather of the title of which she stood possessed in her own right, for the honours of Monmouth had perished on Tower Hill, was a perpetual source of difficulty to the rate-collector of the period, it appearing on different occasions as "Bucklue," "Burklugh," and even "Buccleau," but never once as spelt at the present day. In the same year that her husband was brought to the block she married Lord Cornwallis, which looks as though her grief, if heart-felt, was also transitory. When upwards of three-score years of age the old Duchess would play bowls at Windsor with the first Princess of Wales of the House of Hanover, retaining till her old age all the life and fire of youth, the many afflictions which she had suffered neither impairing her wit nor her good-nature.

Another lady whose knowledge of the world was perhaps even more complete than that of Monmouth's widow, and whose name is connected with the Square during the whole of her long life, was Lady Betty Germain. Bred, if not actually born, within its limits, she married in early life Sir John Germain, a singularly stupid man of Dutch extraction, many of whose simple sayings have been recorded by Horace Walpole. His widow survived him more than fifty years, during the whole of which time she lived at No. 16, a house now merged in the site of the East India United Service Club. Lady Betty's card-parties were famous in their day, and are frequently alluded to in contemporary diaries. Among her

guests would be found Lady Mary Coke, proud, cold, and handsome, but soured into premature old age at little more than forty, old Lady Suffolk (George the Second's superannuated mistress), the Dutch Minister, Count Welderen, and his English wife, and perhaps the prince of gossips, Horace Walpole himself, might look in from Arlington Street. Much the same company, occasionally reinforced by a royal guest, was accustomed to meet at Lady Harrington's house in the Stable Yard on Sunday evenings; and the loo-parties at Lady Holdernesse's new house at the corner of Hertford Street and Park Lane (now Londonderry House) were equally popular.

Lady Mary Coke who, if not very amiably disposed towards her fellow-creatures, certainly loved cards, seldom sat down to play (so we are informed in her diary) without a carp-bone in her pocket, as, according to an old gambler's superstition, the palate-bones of this fish induced luck. At one of these gatherings old Lady Suffolk, leaning over the silver candlesticks on the card-table, in a moment of abstraction, set her lace ruffles on fire; and poor old Lord Vere, who was acting as host (he being married to Lady Betty's niece), burned his feeble hands in helping to extinguish the flames. On another occasion, when Lady Mary was bidden to the same house, the streets rang with shouts of "Wilkes and Liberty," and her chair was stopped by an angry mob who would not let her servants pass till they had declared themselves in favour of the popular

champion. On the same night Count Seilern, the Austrian Ambassador and a near neighbour of Lady Betty, was dragged from his carriage to suffer the indignity of having "No. 45" chalked on the soles of his shoes, an insult which, fortunately, may well have been to him incomprehensible. Late in life Lady Betty seems to have been importuned to marry again by Nell Gwynne's grandson, Lord Sidney Beauclerk, "Worthless Sidney," as Sir Charles Hanbury Williams calls him; but she was dissuaded from this folly by the Duke of Dorset, and remained a widow till her death here in 1769.

The old house in the Square, which Lady Betty had known under five sovereigns, becoming ruinous was pulled down in 1790, and after remaining waste ground for some years, a new house was built on the site by Mr. Edmund Boehm.[1] It was from the balcony of this house, and not from that of Lichfield House (No. 15) as generally stated, that the news of the victory at Waterloo was announced to an eager crowd which had collected in the Square on the arrival of a despatch from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Castlereagh. The story runs that on the 21st of June, 1815, Mrs. Boehm, who had, so to speak, a frenzy for royalty, had reached the summit of her ambition in entertaining the Prince Regent at dinner; but that on the arrival

[1] The gap is well shown in the admirable map of London issued by Horwood, of which the sheet including Piccadilly and St. James's, reproduced at page 188, was published in 1795.

of the glorious news (the despatch having been brought on from Castlereagh's house to Boehm's, where he and Lord Liverpool were among the guests,) her social cup was dashed with bitterness when the royal visitor hastily departed, and the rest of the company (to their lasting credit be it recorded) abruptly dispersed to their homes, their hearts naturally more occupied at the moment with the stirring intelligence than with the memorable dinner-party at which it had just been made known.

As this chapter is devoted to the ladies, the story of that night shall be told here in the picturesque language of an eye-witness, herself an inmate of Lord Castlereagh's household at the time.

"Reports of battles succeeded each other, all equally unfounded; but on the 19th or 20th, at an evening party at Lansdowne House, much sensation was caused by the report that a great battle had certainly been fought, and that the intelligence had been brought, it was said, by a pigeon to the Rothschilds. This suspense ended on the 21st. Never shall I forget that evening! Lord and Lady Castlereagh were dining two or three doors from their own house with Mrs. Boehm, to meet the Prince Regent, and I was sitting quietly alone, when suddenly there came the sound of shouting and the rush of a crowd, and running to the window to discover the cause of all this noise, I saw a post-chaise and four, with three of the French eagles projecting out of the windows, dashing across the

Square, and to Lord Castlereagh's door. In a moment the horses' heads were turned, and away went the chaise to Mrs. Boehm's leaving me in a state of excited wonderment, but feeling a conviction that this haste, and the three eagles, and the cheering of the people announced a victory. Shortly after I received a message from Lady Castlereagh, telling me to dress and to join her at Mrs. Boehm's. This I did quickly. The ladies had left the dining-room, and I learnt that Major Henry Percy had arrived, the bearer of despatches from the Duke of Wellington, with the intelligence of a glorious and decisive victory of the Allies over the French army commanded by Buonaparte in person. The despatches were being then read in the next room to the Prince Regent, and we ladies remained silent, too anxious to talk and longing to hear more. Lord Alvanley was the first gentleman who appeared, and he horrified us with the list of names of killed and wounded : and such names ! great and distinguished in the campaigns of the Peninsula, and become almost household words. There were several for whom I felt a true regard. The Guards, he said, had suffered severely,—my brother Ernest was in them, but the fate of a subaltern could not be known ! [He was unhurt, and died at a good old age in 1861.] I had wished to hear more, and what I heard stupefied me, I could scarcely think or speak. Presently the Prince came in, looking very sad, and he said, with much feeling,

words to this effect: 'It is a glorious victory, and we must rejoice at it; but the loss of life has been fearful, and *I* have lost many friends,' and while he spoke the tears ran down his cheeks. His Royal Highness remained but a short time, and soon after the party broke up, and I must in justice to Lady Castlereagh state that the account I read in some book that she went from Mr. Boehm's to a ball at Sir George Talbot's, and spread the news (so heart-rending to many) there, was totally false; for immediately on hearing the details from Lord Alvanley, she made me write a note of excuse to Sir George Talbot, both for herself and me, as she properly felt that going to a ball under such circumstances was quite out of the question."[1]

A young lady, whose backslidings doubtless provided Lady Betty Germain and her friends with an inexhaustible fund of conversation, was Lord Ravensworth's daughter, Miss Anne Liddell, married from No. 13 in 1756 to the Duke of Grafton, she being then but eighteen. Some thirteen years later

> The smile which blessed one lover's heart
> Had broken many more;

and her husband, then Prime Minister, obtained a separation on the ground of his wife's misconduct

[1] *Slight Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian* (Lady Emma Edgecumbe, afterwards Countess Brownlow), 3rd ed. pp. 117–20. An account of the evening's incidents, agreeing in the main with the above, will also be found in *Notes and Queries* (Second Series), vi. 434 and 448–49.

with Lord Ossory. Three days after the divorce this fair recipient of so many of Horace Walpole's letters married her lover; and it is said that she began a letter to a correspondent (a Mr. Morris) on the day before the Bill passed the House of Lords, which she signed "Anne Grafton," added a little more to it next day and signed that "Anne Liddell," but did not post her letter till she was re-married, when she concluded it as "Anne Ossory." This little episode, which scarcely savours of contrition on her part, gave rise to the clever lines:

> No grace but Grafton's Grace so soon
> So strangely could convert a sinner;
> Duchess at morn, and Miss at noon,
> And Upper Ossory after dinner.

The Duke soon consoled himself by marrying Miss Wrottesley, on which Junius spitefully remarked: "One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or at least that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late Duchess to his nephew." The sting of this particular taunt lay in the fact that the Duchess of Bedford and Miss Wrottesley's mother were Lord Ossory's aunts. Rivals in love the Duchess's new and late husbands were also rivals on the Turf; and they and Lord Bolingbroke (who had lost his wife by a similar mishap a year or two earlier) all ran horses in a race at the Newmarket

First October Meeting in the following year. Their representatives, however, filled the three hindermost positions, the prize falling to the favourite in Sir Charles Bunbury's Bellario ; and, to carry the coincidence still further, the latter's wife (Lady Sarah Lennox) had shortly before run away with Lord William Gordon, and in their case too a divorce followed in due course.[1]

Lord Ravensworth is said to have been so mortified at his daughter's conduct as to have expressed a wish never to see London again, after the circumstances of her intrigue with Lord Ossory were made public. "One of the warmest and honestest Whigs in England," he, as an earnest of his political convictions, gave information to the Government in 1753 of supposed Jacobitism on the part of, among others, the Bishop of Gloucester ; but, after the charges had been inquired into by the Cabinet, and the matter debated in the House of Lords, Lord Ravensworth's previous assertions could not be substantiated, and the accused parties were exonerated.

The beautiful Molly Lepel, Lady Hervey, was often a guest at her father-in-law's house, after the

[1] Lord Ossory's pea-green jacket was very conspicuous on the Turf at this period, as were also the Duke of Grafton's colours ; and Lord Ravensworth's house in the Square must have been most conveniently situated for both his sons-in-law when they desired to attend the London meetings of the Jockey Club, which were then held at the Star and Garter hard by in Pall Mall. This tavern, which still stands, was the scene of the fatal duel between Lord Byron and Mr. Chaworth in 1765.

death of her husband the "Sporus" and the "Lord Fanny" of Pope. That the poet's animosity did not extend to the wife we know from Churchill :

> That face, that form, that dignity, that ease,
> Those powers of pleasing with that will to please,
> For which Lepel, when in her youthful days,
> E'en from the currish Pope extorted praise.

Her character has been drawn for us by a master-hand, himself a resident in the Square, soon after Molly's marriage with Lord Hervey. "She has been bred all her life at Courts : of which she has acquired all the easy good breeding and politeness, without the frivolousness. She has all the reading that a woman should have, and more than any woman need have ; for she understands Latin perfectly well, though she wisely conceals it. No woman ever had, more than she has, *le ton de la parfaitement bonne compagnie*, *les manières engageantes*, *et le je ne sais quoi qui plait*." [1] Molly Lepel was the mother of three Earls of Bristol, the diplomatist, the husband of the notorious Miss Chudleigh (afterwards Duchess of Kingston), and the eccentric Bishop of Derry who built Ickworth the Suffolk seat of the Herveys.

About the time that the Prince Regent ascended the throne, Lord Chatham's old residence was fitted up by Lord Blessington, in a style which was then considered palatial, for his recently chosen bride. First married at the early age of fourteen to a dissolute

[1] Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son;* Dr. Bradshaw's edition, i. 361.

soldier, who died through falling out of a window in a drunken fit, Marguerite Power was still a young and beautiful woman when she came to live in the Square; and all that was most fashionable, artistic, and, it may be added, frivolous in London society, was soon attracted to a house which, in the two previous reigns had been more worthily occupied with the grave deliberations of Ministers bent upon re-arranging the map of Europe, nay of the world itself, to the lasting advantage of our country. Here would now come many a brilliant man of fashion to flatter and idle in the very rooms in which the elder Pitt had given audience to Wolfe and Amherst, to Rodney and Boscawen. Soon after her husband's death Lady Blessington left the Square, first for Seamore Place, and thence to live at Gore House on the road to Kensington, where the Albert Hall now stands.[1]

A very early resident in the Square was *La Belle*

[1] The scène of Lady Blessington's early triumphs, after having been held for a few years by the Windham Club previous to its removal to No. 13, was occupied by Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby and thrice Prime Minister of England, before he acquired Derby House on the east side of the Square. During the Parliamentary session of 1890 Mr. Gladstone lived at No. 10; and during the progress of this work the Right Honourable gentleman courteously informed the author that on his first entry into Parliament in 1832 he took rooms in Jermyn Street, over the shop of a corn-chandler named Crampern, a few doors west of York Street, the said Crampern being a relation of some of his constituents at Newark. Mr. Gladstone afterwards lived in

Stewart, Duchess of Richmond and the Britannia of our coinage. She came to live at No. 15, according to the parochial rate-books, in 1678. This was in the early days of her widowhood, her husband, that "mighty good-natured man," as Pepys calls him, having died at Elsinore during his embassy to Denmark, whither he had been sent to mark the King's displeasure at his audacity in marrying the beautiful Maid of Honour. The King was wont to declare, though no one even pretended to believe him, that she was the only woman he had ever really loved; and when she resisted his advances he curtly told her that he hoped to live long enough to see her "ugly and willing." Writing to his sister, Henrietta of Orleans, who had interceded for her friend soon after the Duchess's marriage, Charles mentions his annoyance thereat. "I do assure you I am very much troubled that I cannot in everything give you that satisfaction I could wish, especially in this business of the Duchess of Richmond, wherein you may think me ill-natured, but if you consider how hard a thing 'tis to swallow an injury done by a person I had so much tenderness for, you will in some degree excuse the resentment I use towards her. You know my good nature enough to believe that I could not be so severe, if I had not

the Albany until his marriage, and retaining a life-long partiality for St. James's, he has by his recent connection with the former home of Chatham conferred a fresh distinction on this already memorable house.

great provocation, and I assure you her carriage towards me has been as bad as breach of friendship and faith can make it, therefore I hope you will pardon me if I cannot so soon forget an injury which went so near my heart."[1] Friendship and faith are called as witnesses without much reason; but if the King had been a jilted lover rightfully smarting under a sense of the enormity of broken vows, instead of only a disappointed and baffled intriguer, he could hardly have expressed himself more strongly. Nor was it till after the Duchess had had the small-pox twelve months later that he could prevail upon himself even to see her again. Her then somewhat impaired beauty may have done something to lessen his resentment, for he wrote: "She is not much marked with the small-pox and I must confess this last affliction made me pardon all that is past and I cannot hinder myself from wishing her very well." The Duchess did not die until 1702, when she was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

At what is now No. 21, and a branch of the War Office, in a house originally occupied by Arabella Churchill, there also lived another of James the Second's mistresses, the lean and ugly Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester;[1] a change of

[1] Mrs. Ady's *Madame*, pp. 247–8.

[2] She was one of the ill-favoured brigade whom Charles used to declare must have been imposed upon his brother by his priests by way of penance.

occupancy but not of calling, so far as the original tenancy of the house was concerned. Lady Dorchester's wit is said to have made amends for her ugliness, and one of her contemporaries has told us that she always had more to say for herself than anybody else. In her later years she was still received at Court, and chancing one day to meet the Duchess of Portsmouth and Lady Orkney in the drawing-room at Windsor, at the beginning of the reign of George the First, she is said to have exclaimed, "Heavens, who would ever have thought that we three royal favourites should meet here!" *Favourites*, to be precise, was not the word used by her ladyship, but a more expressive monosyllable not now included in the vocabulary of polite society.

After many vicissitudes of fortune, and as varied an ownership as that of any house in the Square, Lady Dorchester's former residence was sold to the See of Winchester; the first Prelate of the order of the Garter to take up his abode under the roof-tree which had sheltered the royal mistresses of a former age being Bishop Sumner. But had their Graces of Winchester owned the house from the very beginning, their countenancing of the shameless immorality of some of its earlier tenants, would have been but a faint reflection of the far grosser and more discreditable traffic conducted, under direct episcopal sanction, at the Bankside in Southwark by their predecessors in the Middle Ages. This nefarious, but extremely lucrative, business was carried on at a house with a

sign very slightly, if at all, differing from the arms of the See ; and that old London place-names die hard, in spite of the vagaries of vestries and County Councils, is instanced by the fact that a narrow lane running from the aforesaid Bankside, immediately to the eastward of the offices of the Phœnix Iron Works (itself one of the oldest houses in the neighbourhood), is still called Cardinal's Cap Alley. A wretched little square in the same neighbourhood preserves the memory of the Bear Garden ; and in Queenhithe on the other side of the river an alley leading from Thames Street to the water side is still officially known as Stew Lane, this having been the place of embarkation to which the "Winchester Geese" of the Middle Ages were restricted. From the western end of the Bankside in Southwark is the finest view of St. Paul's Cathedral which London affords.

Pennant, who must be held responsible for many of the errors of subsequent topographers, states that Nell Gywnne lived in the Square, but this is not strictly accurate. In 1670 she did undoubtedly occupy a house on the north side of Pall Mall at the corner leading into the Square, removing in the following year to a better house on the south side of the same street and one door westward of Lady Portland's.[1]

[1] It is said that this house, now an Insurance Office, was occupied at one time by Mrs. Fitz-Herbert, thus forming a characteristic link between the reigns of Charles the Second and George the Fourth.

The house in the Square wrongly attributed to her, and depicted in the Crace Collection of London Views in the British Museum, was the one actually inhabited by Moll Davis, a young actress whose professional career presents many similar features to Nelly's own. Both houses are now merged in the site of the Army and Navy Club.

CHAPTER X

THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SQUARE

The south side of St. James's Square has never been accounted a place of much residential importance, and is generally spoken of in old documents and Acts of Parliament affecting the Square as "the back of the north row of houses in Pall Mall Street."

When Lord St. Albans had finally allotted the building sites on the north, east, and west sides of his projected piazza, the south side did not offer facilities for the erection of mansions similar to those designed for the other three. In 1670, when not a single house was completed in the Square except the ground-landlord's own residence at the south-east corner, many new houses appear in the rate-books of St. Martin's as being in Pall Mall, north side, to the westward of old St. Albans House, which, as we have already shown, was at the time of its erection approached from Pall Mall, then the only available roadway. It thus became impossible to construct a regular row of private houses on the south side of

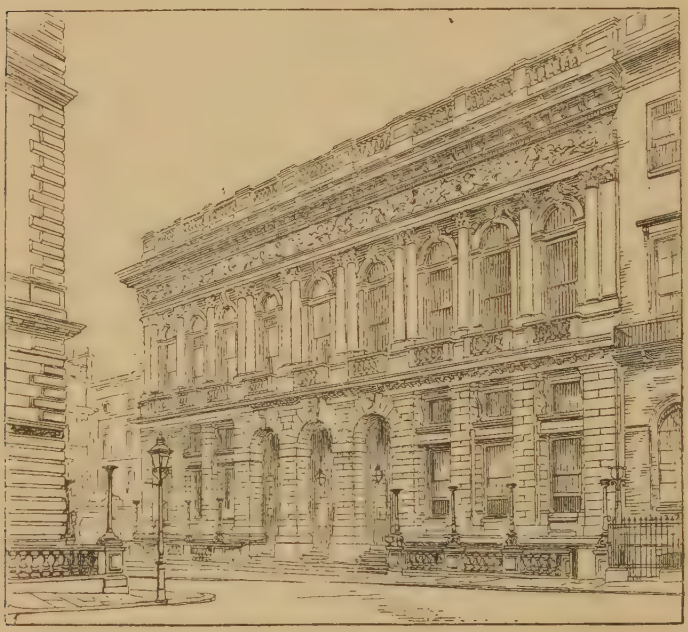
the new Square owing to the existence of these earlier buildings on the north side of Pall Mall; and though in the course of time some of the shops and dwelling-houses in that street acquired a second frontage towards the Square, and the coveted privilege of an entrance doorway therein, they are not mentioned for rateable purposes in the earlier parochial records under this heading.

A house, which perhaps occupied the site of old Adair House (acquired at a cost not far short of £60,000 for the extension of the Junior Carlton Club), was occupied so early as 1670 by a Dr. Lefevre, and was sometimes rated under the head of Pall Mall, and sometimes as if in the Square itself; but with this exception there is no mention of the south side until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Two or three lodging-houses at low rentals thenceforward existed in this position, and it is very probable that the unidentified residences of several members of the House of Commons whose names are connected with the Square should be assigned to this quarter. In *The Royal Calendar* for 1768, in the list of Members of Parliament, the address of Sir John Irwin, then Member for East Grinstead, is given as St. James's Square. He had but just returned from the government of Gibraltar, and was now a widower. He became subsequently a Knight of the Bath and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, was a prominent figure in London society, a friend

of Lord Chesterfield, and an especial favourite with George the Third. Pecuniary embarrassment compelled him to end his days abroad, and he died at Parma in 1788.

A Sir James Laroche of Bristol came to live on



ARMY AND NAVY CLUB.

this side in 1781, but in 1795 the following entry occurs in connection with his name : "Four quarters' arrears,—gone away."

A Dr. Moore lived next door until, in 1792, the house was pulled down. Next year the sinister record "both tenants run away" is found in the

parochial books in connection with yet another house on the same side of the Square.

An artist named Morland, but not the most celebrated of that name, lodged here, probably on account of the north light so essential to his work. The process of absorption consequent on the erection of the Junior Carlton Club (1866-68) has done much to raise the architectural pretensions of this portion of the Square, several mean and dingy buildings having then been cleared away ; and by the subsequent extension of the club premises in 1885 the south-west corner has been brought more into harmony with the elevation of the Army and Navy Club on the opposite side of the roadway.[1] But it is worthy of remark that, by the erection of these two palatial buildings, London has been deprived of an entire street, a tiny thoroughfare called George

[1] The Army and Navy Club, familiarly known at the time of its establishment as the Rag and Famish (a sobriquet now generally abbreviated into the monosyllabic prefix), was erected, mainly from the designs of a young Oxford architect named Parnell, at a total cost, inclusive of the site and furniture, of only £116,000. Prices were low between 1840 and 1850, and the expenditure at the present day would undoubtedly have been far heavier. The exterior is a happy combination of Sansovino's Palazzo Cornaro of the sixteenth century and St. Mark's Library at Venice. The three open arches in the centre are similar in character to those in the Strand front of Somerset House, and the ornamentation of the frieze and the window arcades is symbolic of the twin services to which the Club is dedicated. The new house, which was the first Service Club to open its doors to strangers, was first used by its members on February 25th, 1851, having taken some five years to build.

Street (corresponding with John Street still remaining at the south-east corner) having disappeared when Adair House was destroyed. The old Bell Tavern at the corner of the aforesaid John Street and Pall Mall may well be coeval with the Square itself; and, though wide as the poles asunder, in its interior arrangements, from the marbled and gilded palace of the Junior Carlton at the opposite corner, the humble tavern may yet claim a common ancestry with the modern club. In the seventeenth century it was not thought derogatory for a gentleman to take his ease at an inn, since clubs in the modern sense of the word were unknown, and the tavern, like the modern temple of luxury, aimed primarily at the refreshment and recreation of the citizen in his walks abroad. Could we but for one short hour bring to life the drawer at the Bell in the earliest days of its existence, and ply him with a liberal allowance of his master's right Rhenish, much light would no doubt be thrown upon passages in the lives of tavern-haunters and rake-hells, such as Lord Purbeck, Lord Gerard of Brandon, and many another aristocratic patron whose name occurs in the foregoing pages, which must perforce remain for ever obscure.

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CHAPTER XI

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

It is the beginning of the year 1795, and the First Gentleman in Europe has stepped round from Carlton House to see his friend the Duke of Norfolk (Charles, eleventh Duke, 1746–1815) in the Square. His Royal Highness was little given to sentiment, yet even for him Norfolk House may have had some associations, seeing that his royal father was born within its hospitable walls and christened therein by the then Rector of St. James's, the philanthropic Thomas Secker, who, although the son of a Nonconformist, rose to be Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury. Singular to say, George the Third was both married and crowned by the same prelate.

In 1795 the Prince of Wales was seeking social, moral, and pecuniary rehabilitation in an alliance with Caroline of Brunswick; although Mrs. Fitz-Herbert was conveniently remote at Brighthelmstone, and some years were yet to elapse before Perdita sank into an unhonoured grave at Old Windsor.

The newspapers of the day are full of personal

details of the Princess. Her sweetness and affability of manner, her light auburn hair and regular white teeth, are descanted upon by one of the correspondents of *The Times*, who adds the pleasing intelligence that she "wears no paint." Even the London fashions were at a standstill till her arrival in England should decide the style to be adopted during the approaching season. Carlton House was being furnished in anticipation of the royal wedding; even the state-bed of rose-coloured satin is the subject of a paragraph in the daily Press, and many an inconvenient creditor is temporarily pacified by being appointed purveyor to the Princess of Wales that is to be. Lord Malmesbury, who had been sent over to Brunswick as proxy for the Prince, had unfortunately been seized with an inopportune attack of the gout, which was not unnaturally construed by the sentimental and superstitious into a bad omen for the future of the alliance. The Duke of Norfolk, to whom the Prince has come in order to talk over the gossip of the hour, was a convivial character and a member of the original Beefsteak Club. To his example we are said to owe the fashion of dining late; and another reform which he endeavoured to introduce was the discontinuance of hair-powder, even before the general amputation of pigtails, though in this his well-meant efforts were not destined to meet with such ready acceptance. Another modernisation, though certainly not an improvement, which he undertook, was the remodelling

of Arundel Castle at a vast expense, the regrettable alterations which he made in that ancient pile being even now in process of removal at the instance of its present owner.

At Norfolk House the Prince would not glean much in the way of political news, nor indeed was the old Square at all well represented in the Ministerial world of 1795. Ambassadors there were none to be found here ; prominent members of the Government there were likewise none.[1] Thurlow, it is true, was living here, but he was alike out of office and favour. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Amherst, was now in his dotage, and no longer a source of strength to the army ; George Hobart, now Earl of Buckinghamshire, preferred music to anything else, and would take a keener interest in the recently composed *Matrimonio Segreto* of Cimarosa than in the forthcoming royal alliance ; Lord Dartmouth and the Duke of Leeds were, politically speaking, extinct volcanoes ; Lord Darlington's day of recognition had not yet come ; and the only actual member of the Government living in the Square was Lord Falmouth, the Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms. Of members of the Lower House there was, however, a fair sprinkling. George Byng, a young Whig and Wilkes's successor in the representation of Middlesex, had just come to live at No. 5 ; the young Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (Grenville's nephew) had

[1] Grenville, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had recently removed to Dover Street.

recently entered Parliament for the first time ; Philip Francis had settled down as a respectable member of the legislature, for the invective of Junius was a thing of the past ; and there were three or four other Parliament men of small importance. We find the great officers of State, who monopolised the south-east corner of the Square when last we visited it in royal company replaced by the Jockey of Norfolk and by Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, to whom, almost as much as to Raikes, we owe the introduction of Sunday Schools in England ; while the Traviatas in the corresponding corner on the west side have given way to such eminently respectable personages as the Duke of Leeds (Grenville's predecessor at the Foreign Office) and Drummond, a member of the great banking firm at Charing Cross.

The year which had just opened was a momentous one in English politics. At Westminster, Pitt and Fox were waging a contest of giants, and the former, now reinforced by the flower of the Whig aristocracy, had dispatched one of its members to Ireland on a message of peace.[1]

The position of the two Parliamentary parties at the opening of the session of 1794–95 is very happily described by one among the host of writers of political squibs and lampoons who likens the

[1] Lord Fitzwilliam's speedy recall seems, however, to favour the assumption that Pitt's intention had been rather to gratify the Whig element in the Cabinet than to inaugurate a new departure in Irish policy.

adherents of Pitt and Fox to two hostile fleets between which an early engagement may be expected. The Constitutional fleet, we are told, included among its first-rates the *Invincible*, William Pitt, Commander, who has "conquered whenever she encountered, and is better manned than any ship in the navy." The *Conqueror*, William Grenville, lately poured "such a damaging broadside into the *Maitland*, a frigate which attempted to rake her, that the latter's damages are not yet repaired." The command of the *Commerce of England* is assigned to Captain Charles Jenkinson,[1] "a steady-sailing old ship, well adapted to breaking the enemy's line." William Wilberforce is aboard of the *Negro's Friend*, which, though she carries great weight of metal, is "unable to endure the hardship of a long battle." We are also told that the *Royalist*, Captain Henry Dundas, "never alters her course," and that the *Bentinck*, commanded by Portland, is a powerful acquisition to the Royal Navy, for her captain has lately come over from the enemy's fleet, bringing with him several other ships of the line, the *Fitzwilliam*, the *Carlisle*, the *Wedderburn*, the *Spencer*, and the *Windham*. Apter still are the allusions to former flagships now laid up in ordinary: the *Boreas*, Captain Thurlow, "worm-eaten by some Scotch insects," and the *Patriot*, Captain Leeds, "the timbers of which are still in complete repair and capable of further service." The Opposition

[1] First Lord Hawkesbury.

fleet is, of course, headed by the *Thunderer*, Captain Charles Fox, "one of the oldest and best of the enemy's squadron, carries heavy metal, and always seeks to engage the Admiral's ship." The *Congreve*, Captain Sheridan, is one of the sharpest three-deckers, "always sure to wound, but seldom kills." The *Northumberland*, Captain Grey, is a smooth-sailing ship, "with a very long keel." The *Fitzroy*, Captain Grafton, an old ship long in the service of Government, "being retaken some years since has lately been new rigged and new bottomed with a false keel, but cannot stand a long engagement as she has many old wounds which have been but badly repaired." The *Mahon*, Captain Stanhope, is held to be a crazy ship at best, "does not answer the helm well, and at times refuses to obey the Admiral." Among the second-rates in the Opposition fleet mention is made of a newly-launched ship, the *Bedford*, Captain Russell, which "got much credit in her last engagement though the fleet of which she made a part was defeated."

But without drawing the allegory to too great length, lest it break, we know as a matter of fact that the shock of battle was not long delayed. The policy of the Government in prosecuting the war with France was vigorously assailed in the course of the debate on the Address to the Throne; though when finally the House of Commons divided, at four o'clock in the morning (even the House of Lords sat till three), a triumphant majority for the Government

was recorded. But while Hood, flying his flag in the *Victory* and ably seconded by Captain Nelson in the old 64-gun ship *Agamemnon*, had well nigh swept the Mediterranean clear of the enemy, and Howe held command of the Channel undisputed since the glorious First of June, we were comparatively inactive on land since the Duke of York's misfortunes at Dunkirk and Bois-le-Duc, with the result that Pichegru, after crossing the Waal, overran Holland without encountering much resistance. An increasing number of dispassionate men at home in England thought that, with the end of the Reign of Terror, it was incompatible with British interests to proceed further with the destruction of France; nor could the enormous cost of the war have been at all met by Pitt, in face of the powerful opposition in Parliament, had not the rapid development of English manufactures supplied him with financial resources far in excess of those at the command of any previous Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Simultaneously with the growth of trade came an increase in the number of the well-to-do classes, and the demand for house-accommodation outgrowing the existing supply, the great city, ever moving westward, now swallowed up Knightsbridge in its grimy embrace. Although in 1795 the Five Fields in Pimlico were yet unbuilt upon, the new district of Hans Town had come to be officially recognised by the Post-Office, since the recent opening of the long avenue of Sloane Street had formed a connecting link

between Knightsbridge proper and the outlandish region beyond Bloody Bridge.[1] Park Lane had now become a row of inhabited houses from end to end (the name of a Lord Dudley is found here "beside Grosvenor Gate" early in the reign of George the Third), the buildings in this quarter of the town extending northwards to Great Cumberland Place and Bryanston Street. Now that criminals were no longer hanged at Tyburn, Oxford Street was beginning to creep down the Bayswater Road; and beyond the burial ground of St. George's, Hanover Square (the site of which was selected at a time when it was considered too remote to be ever engulfed in the network of the London streets), was discernible, towards Kensington Gravel Pits, the earliest germ of the district now covered by Hyde Park Gardens and Lancaster Gate.

Perhaps even thus early the want of more direct communication between Pall Mall and Portland Place may have occurred to the Prince of Wales, who, notwithstanding his many faults, deserves at any rate the lasting gratitude of Londoners for having conceived, in conjunction with John Nash the plaster-

[1] The site of Bloody Bridge is still marked by a milestone standing at the Sloane Square end of Westbourne (now most needlessly renamed Cliveden) Place. It spanned the little stream running down from Knightsbridge to Chelsea, afterwards converted into the Ranelagh sewer, which now only emerges from its subterranean course to traverse the Metropolitan District Railway at Sloane Square Station. Pont Street is another landmark connected with the same stream.

king, the noble thoroughfare which was called Regent Street in his honour; the apotheosis of stucco no doubt, but still the most effective boulevard in modern London, the Thames Embankment alone excepted. It may well be, then, that the Duke of Norfolk and his friend find occasion to talk this very morning of the changes that are taking place all over the town, and of the improvements which they perceive to be urgently required if London is to maintain her proud position among the capitals of Europe.

Leaving Norfolk House we will suppose them to make a morning-call at what is alike the oldest and, internally at all events, the finest house in the Square at the present day, and wherein then dwelt old Lady De Grey, a great lady to the tips of her fingers, who will gladly relate to her royal visitor the many interesting links with the past, "rich relics of a well-spent hour," which St. James's presents to her retentive memory.[1]

"Born as I was in the year that the great Duke of Marlborough died," says her ladyship, "and married at seventeen, I was twenty-four years of age when the rebels were defeated at Culloden by the late Duke of Cumberland. As a child I used often to stay in this house, with my grandfather the Duke of Kent, when my parents came to town. Perhaps the very first thing that I remember is being told that

[1] Jemima, Marchioness De Grey in her own right, and widow of the second Earl of Hardwicke, was born in 1722, and died at No. 4, St. James's Square, in January, 1797.

on one winter's night in 1725 I was caught up by my nurse, on an alarm of fire, and, with the whole household wrapped in blankets, for there was no time to dress, removed to Lady Holdernesse's house in Pall Mall.[1] My father[2] had but just returned to England after his embassy to Denmark, and most of his baggage was destroyed, though providentially some important state-papers were preserved. The Prince of Wales, your Royal Highness's great-grandfather, personally directed the efforts of the firemen, and ordered a party of his Guards into the Square to keep off the mob.

"That stagnant-looking pond in the centre I watched the making of in my early childhood, and although we are not now inclined to consider it quite one of the ornaments of London, I well remember what great improvements the enclosure and the paving of the roadway were considered to be at the time. There was also some intention, I have heard, of erecting a statue to King William; but nothing has been done in the matter, and the present generation seems quite to have forgotten it. Another sight impressed upon my memory by my nurses, for whom it appeared to

[1] Schomberg House, built by Lady Holdernesse's father Meinhardt, third Duke of Schomberg, who was raised to the peerage of England by William the Third, as Duke of Leinster, after the death of his father at the Boyne. This was a fine specimen of a London house of the late seventeenth century until it was spoiled by the utilitarian demands of the nineteenth century.

[2] Then Lord Glenorchy, and afterwards third Earl of Breadalbane.

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possess a ghastly fascination, was the funeral procession of the first Duke of Cleveland starting from the opposite side of the Square and wending its mournful way towards the Abbey.

"All the greater houses which I remember here are now destroyed. Ossulston House has been pulled down for nearly half a century, and its former owners the Bennets have left the Square seemingly never to return, for I am told the present Lord Tankerville lives quite on the outskirts of the town, in Portman Square, the site of which I remember open fields. Ormond House, out of which I have often seen the princely Chandos issue, is now replaced by three comparatively insignificant dwellings, though in one of these the present Prime Minister's even greater father used to live not so very many years ago.[1] Halifax House, which was still standing when I was a little child, has gone the same way as the other two, and the new Norfolk House is now the only double-sized house in the whole Square.

"My good friend and late neighbour, Lady Betty Germain, perfectly recollected this neighbourhood at the end of the last century. Her father, who also lived in the Square for a short time, was born, she once told me, in the same year that King Charles was martyred; and she was fond of repeating that she had herself seen five sovereigns on the throne of

[1] The former extent of Ormond House may still be traced by the uniform character of the area railings surrounding Nos. 9, 10, and 11.

England. From the windows of the very room in which we are now seated, I witnessed in 1768 the disturbances on the occasion of Mr. Wilkes's affair. The attitude of the mob was very threatening, and poor Lady Betty, who was then nearing her end, was apprehensive of even greater violence in the streets when that firebrand should see fit to surrender himself to justice. Lord Bute's house in South Audley Street, which had long been an object of special attention at the hands of the *canaille*, owing to his being regarded as the special nominee of the Court, was attacked ; but, in my opinion, the riots were fomented as much by the writings of Junius as by Mr. Wilkes's own utterances.

"I had an experience of a somewhat similar nature when my household was startled by the hoarse roar of an angry mob, which surged through the Square one night at the time of the riots caused by that madman Lord George Gordon ; nor was public confidence in this quarter of the town at all restored until the West End squares were patrolled by cavalry and a military encampment formed in St. James's Park. But not to weary your Royal Highness, I will only add that during my long life the public safety and convenience has been enormously increased, the means of communication between town and country have been revolutionised by the introduction of mail-coaches, and I even hear of wild dreams of steam providing us with new powers of locomotion. The late increase of the army will, I

trust, enable Mr. Pitt to destroy the King's enemies on land as effectually as they have been scattered on sea, though in a letter written by Colonel Hill,[1] which I was favoured with a sight of lately, mention is made of a young French artillery-officer named Buonaparte, whose brilliant tactics on the occasion of the operations against Toulon seem to portend trouble to England in the future. Captain Horatio Nelson is, I hear, of the same opinion, and says that he only wishes Buonaparte had adopted the naval profession instead of the military, that he might encounter him on blue water. At home, we have a number of new police-officers in the streets, in addition to the watchmen bawling the hours, to whom we have been so long accustomed ; and the numerous oil-lamps in the main thoroughfares light us to our homes after dark so conveniently as seriously to menace the interests of the link-men.

"Crime has diminished since the rigour of the penal laws has been somewhat relaxed : the lower classes become daily more temperate and self-reliant, though I much wish that some better system of education could be devised than the Charity Schools ; and while dress has changed for the worse since it was portrayed by Hogarth on yonder canvas, manners have undoubtedly improved. I trust with all my heart that your Royal Highness's approaching

[1] Afterwards first Viscount Hill of Hardwicke, and the Duke of Wellington's right-hand man in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns.

marriage will strengthen the ties which unite the Crown to the people and be productive of the happiest results to England."

At this point the Prince rises to take his leave in consequence of a pressing engagement at Carlton House ; and Lady de Grey is left in solitary grandeur, fancy free, to muse over the past, and to forecast the probable future of a society in which she has long played so prominent and so honourable a part. The recently published *Pleasures of Memory* lies at her elbow, and glancing at Rogers's first and best known poem, we can almost hear her repeat a passage which seems to harmonise with her own train of thought :

> Lulled in the countless chambers of the brain
> Our thoughts are linked by many a hidden chain.
> Awake but one, and lo, what myriads rise !
> Each stamps its image as the other flies.

Her death occurring within two years of this time, she was happily spared the pain of seeing her congratulations to the Prince Regent rendered nugatory and her kindly predictions falsified by the lamentable events of the next decade.

ACKERMANN'S VIEW OF THE SQUARE. 1812.

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CHAPTER XII

A RETROSPECT

We have now completed the circuit of the Square, and traced the former extent and importance of the greater houses within its limits. We have discovered Lord Chesterfield's birth-place, and we have identified Lord Chatham's former residence, once part of old Ormond House, and since his time occupied (among others) by Lady Blessington, Lord Derby, and Mr. Gladstone. In each century of the Square's existence the "haunts of the mighty" have been found here; statesmen superior to any party like Chatham, and representative Tories like Ormond, Rochester, and Lord Liverpool, contrasting with the great Whig families of Cavendish, Walpole, and Grey. We have witnessed the birth of a King, and the attempted dethronement of a Queen of England.

The long roll of former residents, statesmen, courtiers, divines, and lawyers, in short of those who, till the rivalry of contending parties in the State transferred the balance of power in this country to the hands of the democracy, were familiarly known

as the ruling classes of England, has been analysed though not exhausted. And were the names of former inhabitants to be systematically recorded by the praiseworthy efforts of the Society of Arts, whose former industry in placing memorial tablets on the houses of distinguished public characters appears of late years to have been somewhat relaxed, the walls of nearly every house in the Square would be tessellated with medallions and riddled with inscriptions. It would be superfluous to tabulate in these pages all the great offices of State which have been filled by its inhabitants since the days of Charles the Second; but of Prime Ministers, to give but one example and that the highest, the names of no less than fifteen are recorded in the foregoing pages as having dwelt here during some portion of their career.[1] These are Lords Essex, Rochester, and Bellasis, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lords Halifax and Carlisle, Sir Robert Walpole, Lords Sunderland, Wilmington, Chatham, Grenville, Liverpool, Grey, and Derby, and lastly Mr. Gladstone,—an amazing conglomeration of talent which it would be impossible to match in any other locality in the Metropolis.[2]

[1] Reckoning also the posts of Lord Treasurer and First Commissioner of the Treasury Board before the use of the term Prime Minister became general, and, in Lord Chatham's case, the office of Lord Privy Seal.

[2] Or if we include the name of the Lord Poulett, who became First Lord of the Treasury for a short time in the interregnum between the administrations of Godolphin and Harley, though really subordinate to the latter, the list is swelled

That the Square has been on the whole a healthy locality may be judged from the fact that the first Lord Bathurst lived here for more than seventy years, that Lady Betty Germain also lived for more than sixty years in one house, and that Mrs. Hoare, an undoubted centenarian, completed her one hundredth year in a house (No. 9) which had itself been the property of her husband's family for close upon a century.

Other neighbourhoods have had their share of fashionable patronage, only to become more or less neglected as new competitors have sprung up. Mayfair has been hard pressed by Belgravia, though it has proved itself fully equal to the strain. Tyburnia has been eclipsed by Kensington, and the roomy mansions of the once aristocratic Bedford estate have been rivalled by those in course of erection on the Cadogan property, which last-named district indeed seems likely to oust Belgravia from the proud

to sixteen, or about one Prime Minister in every thirteen years from the formation of the Square to the present day. There is, however, some doubt as to the identity of the Lord Poulett, or Paulet, who, according to the testimony of the rate-book, succeeded Lord Carbery in 1698 at No. 14. His name is only found once, and while it is the case that the Lord Paulet of Basing, who afterwards became Duke of Bolton, married Lord Carbery's daughter, he would only have been about thirteen years of age in 1698, and moreover the marriage did not take place until 1713. Therefore the balance of probability is in favour of its having been the Earl Poulett who was at the head of the Treasury in Queen Anne's reign.

position to which it attained so soon as its earlier designation of Pimlico fell into disuse.

Arlington Street we know was pronounced by Horace Walpole to be the Ministerial street *par excellence*, a character which it still in part retains; while Theodore Hook (than whom no one knew town better or loved it more) defined the "real London" as the space between Piccadilly on the north, Pall Mall on the south, the Opera House in the Haymarket on the east (now no longer a landmark), and St. James's Street on the west.[1] Living as he did for some years on the fringe of this region, in Cleveland Row, his writings are full of allusions to the district and are valuable to the topographer on account of the faithful picture which they present of political and social London in the reign of George the Fourth, and in that of his successor. Of Downing Street this true humourist slyly observed, and time has hardly impaired the portrait: "There is a fascination in the air of that little *cul de sac*; an hour's inhalation of its atmosphere affects some men with giddiness, others with blindness, and, very frequently, with the most oblivious forgetfulness!" Skilful at all times in blending the ludicrous with the picturesque Hook could strike a pathetic note upon

[1] An eminent Conservative Minister, lately deceased, held the opinion that nobody of any social importance failed to pass through South Audley Street at least once in the day during the season, but it should perhaps be added that his own residence was in the vicinity.

occasion, and never better than when dealing with the story of the streets.

Most of us know how entire neighbourhoods, as well as individual houses, continue to be associated in our adult minds with the impressions produced in early childhood. The present writer conceived an enduring dislike to that part of Marylebone of which Cavendish Square is the centre, from the remembrance of early visits to a dentist in Wimpole Street, while, at a corresponding period in his existence, he positively envied the inhabitants of the lonely terraces bordering upon the Regent's Park the inestimable privilege of living within earshot of the roar of the lions in the Zoological Gardens.

Prosperity or adversity, ill-health or straitened means, marriage, ambition, and half-a-dozen other predisposing causes may have necessitated a removal from one quarter of the town, or country, to another so distant as to preclude any constant connection between the two; but only revisit the former home, or the scene of an early attachment, after a long interval, and the dullest man will insensibly be led to reconstruct the past in the mind's eye, until the answering brain readily conjures up memories capable of transforming what may seem to the casual wayfarer commonplace and insignificant into an imaginary prison-house of which we only hold the master-key, or, it may be, a paradise of which we alone can appreciate the charm. All of us know such spots and make occasional pilgrimages thereto,

though few perhaps would care to admit the extent of the romance which we associate with them in our secret hearts. So vast has been the expansion of the Metropolis within living memory that the authors we have quoted would have to modify their views of its social boundaries could they but revisit their former haunts, since nowadays the fashionable and political world is pretty evenly distributed over a circular area some two miles in diameter, and of which the true centre will be found at or near Hyde Park Corner. Yet some would be inclined to fix the utmost limits of the habitable capital so widely apart as at St. John's Wood on the north, Cheyne Walk on the south, Russell Square on the east, and Holland House on the west,—a world of brick and stucco so huge that those who dwell on its boundaries, notwithstanding they live under the same laws and speak much the same language, have little else in common. And yet while Bloomsbury knows not West Kensington, and those who live in the aristocratic squares on the wrong side of Oxford Street look askance at the poor outcasts who form the population of South Belgravia, artists and Bohemians may be found alike in the urban groves of St. John's Wood and in the riverside homesteads of Chelsea.

At the present time the tide of popularity seems, like the course of empire, to be moving steadily westward ; but unchanged amid manifold changes, St. James's holds its own, and there can be no manner of doubt that the old Square, although no longer exclusively com-

posed of private houses, will continue to maintain its ancient fame for many years to come. Nor can such a consummation be deemed surprising when we remember that one or two families have resided here continuously for over two centuries, and several for periods varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. The Herveys, for example, now Marquises of Bristol, have owned No.6 since it was first built in 1677 ; and the house now owned by the seventh Earl Cowper has descended to him through the Dukes of Kent from the same date. No. 5 was first inhabited by an Earl of Strafford in 1711 ; the Dukes of Norfolk have owned Norfolk House since the reign of George the First ; and, till within the last year, the Dukes of Cleveland could claim an equal tenure. The families of Boscawen and Williams Wynn have both been represented here for over a century ; the Heathcotes, until 1891, for a century and a half ; and lastly the Bishops of London for rather over, and the Egertons for close upon, one hundred years.

To descend from the celebrities who have made this locality their permanent abode to those whose names are only associated with it in some more evanescent sense, we are reminded that Dr. Johnson once paced round and round the Square in company with Richard Savage for want of a night's lodging, both of them in high spirits, brimful of patriotism, and firmly resolved to stand by their country. Here, too, Richardson has fixed the residence of that rather tiresome pattern of

gentility, Sir Charles Grandison. And here is laid one of the scenes of *Lady Clancarty*, the wife who was wedded first and wooed afterwards; one of the best, if not the best, of Tom Taylor's many plays, and suggested to him by a passage in Macaulay's *History of England.* In the third act we are shown the heroine's bedroom in Lord Sunderland's house, a wintry scene without with the snow falling fast in the Square, and the bare trees growing sufficiently close to the windows to allow the hotly-pressed Clancarty to scale the balcony under cover of the darkness, gain admission to the chamber, and discover his identity to his long-parted bride.

But of interest, real as well as simulated, the record grows too long, for the patient reader has had before his eyes a mosaic of precious materials, but of indifferent workmanship. It has been well said that if the true story of any single house in town or country could be told, and the life of each successive occupant, and his family, given to the world in its entirety, no book would be large enough to embrace the materials, no narrative would be more engrossing. And if this be true of isolated and individual homesteads, how much more does the history of such a place as St. James's Square, wherein almost every house teems with interest for Englishmen, deserve to be written; the story of the hopes and fears engendered within its time-honoured walls, its domestic as well as its public crises, the reputations made (and shattered), the words

pledged, the promises broken, the plots hatched, and the schemes frustrated within its narrow limits. Who can tell the sum total of the outpourings of human energy, the patient endurance of suffering, the unrecorded deeds of heroism, connected with its past! Here have dwelt, during some portion of their career, many of the most remarkable Englishmen of the last two centuries; some to pass from childhood's obscurity into the energy and strife of public life and fame, till in the fulness of time they are carried hence to their last resting-place in Westminster Abbey, wherein the recollection of their services will be for ever cherished by a grateful nation; while others, endowed, it may be, at the outset with equal chances of distinction, failed to sustain the promise of their early youth, and were destined to pass away unremembered and unmourned.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONCISE LISTS OF OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF EACH HOUSE IN ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, WITH THE APPROXIMATE DATES OF THEIR TENANCIES COMPILED FROM EVIDENCE SUPPLIED BY THE ORIGINAL PAROCHIAL RATE-BOOKS, AND OTHER TRUSTWORTHY SOURCES, AND COMPARATIVE TABLE OF RATES, FROM 1676 TO 1876.

THE task of identifying the local habitations of over 450 separate owners and occupiers has, in the absence of any distinguishing numbers to the houses in the earlier rate-books, been no light one; and it has only been possible to arrive at a positive conclusion in each individual case by a most exhaustive comparison of the entire series of parochial records preserved by the respective vestries of St. Martin's in the Fields and St. James's.

In the two first years in which the Square figures as a separate place of residence, the sequence of names commences with that of the householder in the south-east corner, working thence round the east, north, and west sides; and this arrangement has been adopted in the following pages.

From 1678 to 1685 the names commence with the house at the south-west corner of the Square, but in 1686 the parish authorities reverted to the earlier arrangement, and this held good till 1734. After that date a commencement was made with the house at the north-west corner of Charles Street (now No. 1), but at times this—the two houses at the southern corners of York Street (Nos. 8 and 9 of the

present modern numbering)—and those at the corners of King Street (Nos. 18 and 19)—were reckoned for parochial purposes as belonging to those streets rather than to the Square proper. Throughout the present work the numbering now in use has been adopted for facility of reference. It has been stated on insufficient authority that the modern practice of distinguishing houses by means of a number displayed on the front door had its origin in the year 1763, when the inhabitants of New Burlington Street adopted this simple means of identification; but no reflection of this reported innovation is to be found in books of reference which give the town addresses of peers and commoners at this period, and it appears much more probable that all they did in New Burlington Street was to affix brass name plates to their doors for the enlightenment of the small minority of wayfarers able to decipher them. If traced to its source the custom of distinguishing private houses by means of numbers will probably be found to be the logical expansion of a system first introduced in the chambers of the various Inns of Court.

The earliest printed publication which the author has met with giving the town addresses of members of both Houses of Parliament is *Watson's Court Calendar* for 1733, a precursor of the better known *Court and City Register*, and the *Royal Calendar*. The first edition of "Boyle's Court Guide" (of which there is a copy in the British Museum) was issued in 1792, and this appears to be the first systematic attempt at a visiting directory, with the town houses of the leading inhabitants of the West-end clearly distinguished by means of numbers.

In the *Royal Calendar* for 1797 the addresses of two members of the House of Commons are so first distinguished, but in the same publication for the succeeding year the increasing convenience of the practice is shown by the fact that the numbered addresses amount to sixteen.

The rate-books of the parish, so far as regards St. James's Square, are missing for the years 1708-1715 and 1725-1728 inclusive, for 1735, 1740, 1742, 1750, 1753, 1760–1762 inclusive, 1765, 1769-1771 inclusive, 1778, and 1779; but it has been possible to establish the continuity of ownership in the case of almost every house from other authentic sources of information.

In the following pages the sometimes extremely obscure spelling of successive rate collectors has been modernised, and certain obvious errors of transposition and omission have been rectified.

The titles of the various householders are set forth in detail, and biographical and obituary notices added.

The rates levied on each house have been given at recurring periods of twenty years from their commencement in 1676; this being the only regular sequence, owing to the above-mentioned gaps in the series, which it has been possible to observe.

NORFOLK HOUSE.

(*Southerly portion of the site.*)

Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, K.G. (Lord Chamberlain, Ground Landlord and Founder of the Square) 1667

And at intervals thenceforward previous to his removal to the North side.

Sir John Duncombe (Chancellor of the Exchequer) 1675–1676

Lewis de Duras, Marquis of Blanquefort and Earl of Feversham, K.G. (Lieutenant-General of the Forces, &c.) ... 1677–1680

The Portuguese Ambassador 1681

Edward Conway, First Earl of Conway (a Principal Secretary of State) 1682–1683

Henry Howard, Seventh Duke of Norfolk, K.G. (Constable of Windsor Castle, &c.) 1684–1685

John Fitz-Gerald, Eighteenth Earl of Kildare 1686–1691

The Spanish Ambassador 1692

Lewis de Duras, Marquis of Blanquefort and Earl of Feversham, K.G. 1693

[*He afterwards lived at Somerset House.*]

Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland, K.G. (a Principal Secretary of State) 1694–1702

Charles Spencer, Third Earl of Sunderland, K.G. (Prime Minister, &c.) 1703–1708

William Henry Bentinck, Second Earl and First Duke of Portland (Governor of Jamaica) 1710–1722

Thomas Howard, Eighth Duke of Norfolk 1723–1732

Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk 1733–1737

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales... 1738–1741

[*George the Third and the Duke of York were born here.*]

Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk 1743–1747

[*His name is absent from the parochial rate books from 1748–1751, when the new Norfolk House was in course of erection.*]

Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk 1752–1777

Charles Howard, Tenth Duke of Norfolk 1778–1786

Charles Howard, Eleventh Duke of Norfolk 1787–1815

[*Died here.*]

Bernard Edward Howard, Twelfth Duke of Norfolk, K.G... 1816–1842

[*Died here.*]

Henry Charles Howard, Thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G. 1843–1856

Henry Granville Fitz-Alan Howard, Fourteenth Duke of Norfolk... 1857–1860

Henry Fitz-Alan Howard, Fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G. (Postmaster-General) 1861–

NORFOLK HOUSE.

(*Northerly portion of the site.*)

Katherine, Countess of Newburgh	1676–1678
Sir John Ernley, Kt. (Chancellor of the Exchequer)	1679–1683
Henry Savile, Lord Eland	1684–1688
William Savile, Lord Eland (afterwards Second Marquis of Halifax)	1689–1694
Gertrude, Marchioness of Halifax	1695–1697
Charles Berkeley, Lord Dursley (afterwards Second Earl of Berkeley, Ambassador at the Hague, and a Lord Justice of Ireland)	1698–1699
Edward Villiers, First Earl of Jersey (a Principal Secretary of State)	1700
Sir Edmund Denton, First Bt. (of Hillesdon, Co. Bucks.) ...	1701–1705
John Talbot (of Longford, Co. Salop)	1706–1707
[*And later as he retained the freehold until* 1727.]	
Sir James Bateman, Kt. (Lord Mayor of London)	1716–1717
Henriette, Countess of Strafford	1718–1727
Joseph Banks (of Revesby, Co. Lincoln)	1728–1730
Count Daggenfielt (Prussian Minister)	1731
Joseph Banks	1732–1736
Sir Robert Browne, First Bt. (M.P. Ilchester, and Paymaster of His Majesty's Works)	1737–1745
Thomas Knight (? a caretaker)	1746–1747

House pulled down and incorporated in the new Norfolk House, 1748.

LONDON HOUSE.

Anne, Countess of Warwick	1676–1685
Edward Rich, Sixth Earl of Warwick	1686–1688
Anne, Lady Bellasis	1689–1691
Philip Stanhope, Lord Stanhope (afterwards Third Earl of Chesterfield)	1692–1695
John Talbot (of Longford, co. Salop)	1696–1700
Rebecca, Marchioness of Worcester	1701–1703
William Henry Bentinck, Viscount Woodstock (afterwards Second Earl and First Duke of Portland)	1704–1709
James Douglas Hamilton, Fourth Duke of Hamilton, K.T., K.G.	1710–1712
Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton	1713–1716
Empty	1717
Henry Fiennes Clinton, Seventh Earl of Lincoln, K.G. (Constable of the Tower of London)	1718–1728
John Ashburnham, Third Lord and First Earl of Ashburnham (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard)	1729–1737
Thomas Osborne, Fourth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (Cofferer of the Household)	1738–1741
John Hay, Fourth Marquis of Tweeddale (Secretary of State for Scotland)	1742–1745
Rowland Holt	1746–1748
Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk	1749–1751
[*During the building of Norfolk House.*]	
Empty	1752–1753
Anthony Brown, Sixth Viscount Montagu	1754–1763
Thomas Anson (M.P. Lichfield)	1764–1765
[*During the building of Lichfield House.*]	
Francis Greville, Earl of Warwick, K.T.	1766–1770
Richard Terrick, Hundredth Bishop of London	1771–1777
Robert Lowth, ,, ,, ...	1778–1787
Beilby Porteous, ,, ,, ...	1788–1809
John Randolph, ,, ,, ...	1810–1813
William Howley, ,, ,, ...	1814–1828
[*The house was rebuilt in* 1820.]	
Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London	1829–1856
Archibald Campbell Tait, ,, ,, ...	1857–1868
John Jackson, ,, ,, ...	1869–1885
Frederick Temple, ,, ,, ...	1886–

DERBY HOUSE.

Aubrey de Vere, Twentieth Earl of Oxford, K.G. (First Colonel of the Blues, &c.) 1676–1677

William Cavendish, Lord Cavendish, afterwards Fourth Earl and First Duke of Devonshire, K.G. (Lord Steward of the Household) 1678–1685

Rebecca, Countess of Yarmouth 1686–1687

John Bellasis, First Lord Bellasis (Governor of Tangier, First Lord of the Treasury, &c.) 1688–1689

Henry Bellasis, Second Lord Bellasis 1690–1691

Empty 1692

Isabella, Duchess of Grafton 1693–1694

Henry Howard, Seventh Duke of Norfolk, K.G. 1695–1701

[*Died here.*]

Charles Paulet, Second Duke of Bolton, K.G. (Lord Chamberlain, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.) 1702–1707

[*The Duke possibly lived here some years later, but there is a hiatus in the series of rate-books from* 1708–1715.]

Sir Richard Bealing [or Bellings] (Secretary to Queen Katherine of Braganza) 1716

Richard Arundell 1717–1718

Edward Rolt 1719–1721

Algernon Coote, Sixth Earl of Mountrath 1722–1731

[*Empty according to the rate-books from* 1732-1734, *but perhaps temporarily occupied by Sir Robert Walpole.*]

John Hobart, Lord Hobart, afterwards First Earl of Buckinghamshire (Captain of the Bodyguard) 1734–1743

Empty 1744–1745

Sir Thomas Webb, Fourth Baronet, of Odstock, Wilts ... 1746–1763

Sir John Webb, Fifth Baronet 1764–1768

Hon. George Hobart, (M.P. Beeralston) 1772–1786

Sir John Aubrey, Sixth Baronet (M.P. Bucks) 1787–1791

George Hobart, Third Earl of Buckinghamshire 1792–1804

Robert Hobart, Fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire (Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c.) 1805–1806

John Craggs Eliot, Lord Eliot (afterwards First Earl of St. Germans) 1807–1823

John Angerstein 1824–1840
William Legge, Fourth Earl of Dartmouth 1841–1853
Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Fourteenth Earl of Derby, K.G. (Prime Minister, &c.) 1854–1869
Edward Henry Stanley, Fifteenth Earl of Derby, K.G. (Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c.) 1870–1893
Frederick Arthur Stanley, Sixteenth Earl of Derby (Governor-General of Canada) 1894–

No. 1.

(*Ossulston House, until* 1753, *including No.* 2 *as well.*)

Sir John Bennet, Kt., afterwards Lord Ossulston (Lieutenant of the Body Guard, &c.) 1677–1695
Charles Bennet, Second Lord Ossulston and First Earl of Tankerville, K.T. 1696–1722
Charles Bennet, Second Earl of Tankerville, K.T. (Master of the Buckhounds) 1723–1752
[*Now sold to be pulled down, and No.* 2 *separated from it.*]
Rebuilt 1753–1754
William Legge, Second Earl of Dartmouth (Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Privy Seal, &c.)... 1755–1801
Frances, Countess of Dartmouth 1802–1805
Thomas Philip Robinson Weddell (de Grey), Third Lord Grantham, K.G. (First Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) 1806–1830
William Legge, Fourth Earl of Dartmouth 1831–1841
Empty 1842–1843
London and Westminster Bank (West End Branch) 1844–

No. 2.

(*Included with No.* 1 *in old Ossulston House until* 1753.)

Hugh Boscawen, Second Viscount Falmouth (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard and General in the Army)	1754–1782
Hannah Katherine, Viscountess Falmouth	1783–1786
George Evelyn Boscawen, Third Viscount Falmouth (Captain of the Body Guard)	1787–1808
[*According to "Boyle's Court Guide" the Second Earl of Chatham, General and K.G., was here from* 1802–1805.]	
Edward Boscawen, Fourth Viscount and First Earl Falmouth	1809–1841
George Henry Boscawen, Fifth Viscount and Second Earl Falmouth	1842–1852
Evelyn Boscawen, Sixth Viscount Falmouth	1853–1889
Evelyn Edward Thomas Boscawen, Seventh Viscount Falmouth	1890–
[*The house is now* (1895) *occupied by Sir John Lubbock, Bt.*]	

No. 3.

(*Previous to* 1686 *Lord Ossulston seems to have been possessed of No.* 3, *as well as Nos.* 1 *and* 2, *and to have occasionally let one or the other to various foreign ambassadors.*)

James Butler, Earl of Ossory (afterwards Second Duke of Ormond)	1686–1688
Count Du Roy, brother to the Earl of Feversham	1689–1691
Isabella, Duchess of Grafton	1692–1693
John Egerton, Third Earl of Bridgewater (First Lord of the Admiralty)	1694
Charles Talbot, First Duke of Shrewsbury, K.G. (Lord Treasurer, &c.)	1695
Charles Howard, Third Earl of Carlisle (First Lord of the Treasury, &c.)	1696–1697
William Cavendish, First Duke of Devonshire, K.G. (Lord Steward of the Household)	1698–1704
Baron Schutz (Hanoverian Envoy)	1705–1710
Edward Harley, Lord Harley (afterwards Second Earl of Oxford)	1716
[*He probably succeeded Baron Schutz here, but the series of rate-books is incomplete.*]	
Henry Temple, First Viscount Palmerston	1717–1757
Henry Temple, Second Viscount Palmerston	1758–1759
Arthur Chichester, Fifth Earl and First Marquis of Donegal	1763–1799
Empty	1800
Philip Yorke, Third Earl of Hardwicke, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland)	1801–1834
George William Frederick Osborne, Sixth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (Master of the Horse)	1835–1838
Sackville Walter Lane Fox (M.P. Beverley)	1839–1852
Wellington Club	1853
Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission Office, now the Board of Agriculture, but the house is still the property of the Duke of Leeds	1854–

No. 4.

Anthony Grey, Tenth Earl of Kent	1677–1702
Henry Grey, Eleventh Earl and First Duke of Kent, K.G. (Lord Chamberlain, Lord Privy Seal, &c.)	1703–1740
Sophia, Duchess of Kent	1741–1743
Hon. Philip Yorke (afterwards Second Earl of Hardwicke) ... [*His wife was granddaughter of the Duke of Kent and Baroness Lucas and Marchioness de Grey in her own right.*]	1744–1790
Jemima, Marchioness de Grey ... ... [*Died here.*]	1791–1797
Amabel, Baroness Lucas and Countess de Grey	1798–1833
Thomas Philip Robinson Weddell de Grey, Seventh Baron Lucas, and Earl de Grey on his aunt's death, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.)	1834–1859
Anne Florence, Countess Cowper	1860–1880
Francis Thomas de Grey Cowper, Seventh Earl Cowper, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland)	1881–

No. 5.

Henry Hyde, Second Earl of Clarendon (Lord Privy Seal, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.) 1676–1679
Elizabeth, Countess of Thanet 1680–1691
Meinhardt de Schonberg, Duke of Leinster, K.G. (Commander-in-Chief) 1692
Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, K.G. (Master of the Horse) 1693–1695
Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, K.G. (Lord Treasurer, &c.) 1696
Edward Coke 1697–1699
Charles Beauclerk, First Duke of St. Albans, K.G. (Captain of the Bodyguard) 1700–1701
Lady Katherine O'Brien 1702
Empty 1703
Sir Richard Child, Third Baronet 1704–1711
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, K.G. (Ambassador at Berlin, &c., First Lord of the Admiralty, &c.) 1712–1739
William Wentworth, Fourth Earl of Strafford 1740–1791
[*House pulled down and rebuilt by Brettingham in* 1748.]
Rt. Hon. Thomas Connolly 1792–1794
George Byng (M.P. Middlesex) 1795–1847
Mrs. Byng 1848–1854
[*Died here.*]
George Stevens Byng, Viscount Enfield, and Second Earl of Strafford of the new creation (Comptroller of the Household, &c.) 1855–1886
George Henry Charles Byng, Third Earl of Strafford (Civil Service Commissioner, &c.) 1887–

No. 6.

John Hervey (M.P. Hythe, Treasurer and Receiver General to the Queen) 1677–1679
Madam Hervey 1680–1681
George Legge, First Lord Dartmouth, (Master General of the Ordnance &c.) 1682–1685
Charles Bodville Robartes, Second Earl of Radnor, (Lord Warden of the Stannaries)... 1686–1694
Empty... 1695–1698
John Hervey, First Lord Hervey and Earl of Bristol 1699–1751
George William Hervey, Second Earl of Bristol (Ambassador to Turin and Madrid, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Privy Seal) 1752–1756
John Ashburnham, Second Earl of Ashburnham (Ranger and Keeper of St. James's Park and the Mall) 1757–1759
George William Hervey, Second Earl of Bristol 1762–1775
Augustus John Hervey, Third Earl of Bristol (Admiral R.N.) 1776–1779
Frederick Augustus Hervey, Fourth Earl of Bristol, and Bishop of Derry... 1780–1799
[*During his absence in Ireland and on the Continent, the Duke of Gordon and others rented the house*]
George Henry Rose (M.P. Southampton) 1800–1802
Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards Second Earl of Liverpool K.G. (Prime Minister &c.) ... 1803–1806
Frederick William Hervey, Fifth Earl and First Marquis of Bristol 1807–1859
[*The house was rebuilt in its present shape* 1819–1822]
Frederick William Hervey, Second Marquis of Bristol (Treasurer of the Household) 1860–1864
Frederick William John Hervey, Third Marquis of Bristol... 1865–

No. 7.

Richard Jones, First Earl of Ranelagh (Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, &c.)...	1678–1693
Charles Bodville Robartes, Second Earl of Radnor (Lord Warden of the Stannaries)...	1694–1723
Thomas Scawen (M.P. Surrey)...	1724–1743
William FitzWilliam, Third Earl FitzWilliam (a Lord of the Bedchamber, &c.)	1744–1756
Frederick St. John, Second Viscount Bolingbroke (a Lord of the Bedchamber)...	1757–1760
Thomas Scawen	1761–1769
Francis Greville, Earl Brooke and Warwick, K.T.	1770–1773
George Greville, Second Earl Brooke and Warwick	1774–1781
Richard Barwell, the Anglo-Indian (M.P. Helston)	1782–1796
William (Tatton) Egerton (M.P. Newcastle-under-Lyme, &c.)	1797–1806
Wilbraham Egerton (M.P. Cheshire)	1807–1856
William Tatton Egerton, First Lord Egerton...	1857–1883
Wilbraham Egerton, Second Lord Egerton	1884–

No. 8.

The French Ambassador (Honoré Courtin)	1676–1677
Sir Cyril Wyche, Kt. (M.P. East Grinstead, President of the Royal Society, a Lord Justice of Ireland, &c.)	1678–1683
Thomas Herbert, Eighth Earl of Pembroke, K.G. (President of the Royal Society, Lord President of the Council, First Lord of the Admiralty, &c.)	1684–1685
The French Ambassador (Paul Barillon)...	1686–1688
[*And earlier, though rates were paid by Sir Cyril Wyche.*]	
Henry Jermyn, Earl of Dover (Joint Vice Treasurer of Ireland, &c.)	1689–1693
Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch (Monmouth's widow; she remarried the Third Lord Cornwallis)...	1694–1699
Edward Coke	1700–1706
James Douglas, Second Duke of Queensberry, and First Duke of Dover, K.G. (Lord High Commissioner to Parliament of Scotland)...	1707– ?
[*And perhaps till his death in* 1711, *though rate-books are missing.*]	
Thomas Howard, Eighth Duke of Norfolk	1715–1719
[*And probably earlier.*]	
Sir Matthew Decker, First Baronet...	1720–1749
Lady Decker	1750–1759
Richard Fitzwilliam, Sixth Viscount Fitzwilliam	1760–1768
Sir Sampson Gideon, First Baronet (M.P. Cambridgeshire)...	1772–1784
Empty	1785–1795
Josiah Wedgwood, the younger, and Thomas Byerley	1796–1810
Josiah Wedgwood (alone)	1811–1830
Charles Marsham, Second Earl of Romney	1831–1839
Erechtheum Club	1840–1854
Charity Commissioners	1855–1876
Junior Oxford and Cambridge Club	1879–1884
Vine Club	1885
York Club	1886–1888
Junior Travellers' Club	1889–1892
Sports Club	1893–

No. 9.

(*Until* 1735 *Nos.* 10 *and* 11 *were included with it in old Ormond House.*)

Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, K.G. (Lord Chamberlain, &c.) 1677–1683

James Butler, First Duke of Ormond, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.) 1684–1688

James Butler, Second Duke of Ormond, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Commander-in-Chief, &c.)... 1689–1715

[*Count Tallard was here in* 1698.]

Charles Butler, Earl of Arran... 1716–1719

[*The house was however temporarily used as the Spanish Embassy in* 1718.]

James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos 1719–1735

[*Now pulled down and three separate houses built upon the site.*]

William Wollaston (M.P. Ipswich) 1737–1757

Henry Ingram, Seventh Viscount Irwin 1758–1761

William Wollaston 1762–1764

Peter Taylor... 1765–1769

[*During which period it seems to have been rented for Count de Seilern the Imperial (Austrian) Ambassador.*]

Henry Verelst (Clive's successor in the Administration of India) 1770–1781

Heneage Finch, Fourth Earl of Aylesford (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Lord Steward of the Household, &c.) 1782–1788

John Denis Browne, Third Earl of Altamont 1789

Henry Hugh Hoare (afterwards Third Baronet, of Stourhead, Wiltshire) 1790–1841

Lady Hoare... 1842–1845

Henry Charles Hoare... 1846–1852

Mrs. Anne Penelope Hoare (who died here in 1887 aged 100) 1853–1887

The Portland Club 1888–

No. 10.

(*Until* 1735 *included with Nos.* 9 *and* 11 *in old Ormond House.*)

Sir William Heathcote, First Baronet, of Hursley, co. Hants.	1737–1751
Sir Thomas Heathcote, Second Baronet	1752–1753
Rt. Hon. Sir George Lee, Kt.	1754–1758
Rt. Hon. William Pitt (the great Earl of Chatham, Twice Prime Minister, &c.)	1759–1762
Sir Charles Sheffield, First Baronet	1763–1774
Sir John Sheffield, Second Baronet	1775–1793
Sir William Heathcote, Third Baronet	1794–1813
Thomas Freeman Heathcote (M.P. co. Hants.)	1814–1819
Charles John Gardiner, Earl of Blessington	1820–1829
Windham Club	1830–1836
Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Lord Stanley, afterwards Fourteenth Earl of Derby, K.G. (Thrice Prime Minister)	1837–1854
John Tollemache, First Lord Tollemache	1855–1889
Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone (Four times Prime Minister)	1890
Lord Kinnaird	1891

No. 11.

(*Until* 1735 *included with Nos.* 9 *and* 10 *in old Ormond House.*)

George Parker, Second Earl of Macclesfield (President of the Royal Society)	1737–1764
Dorothy, Countess of Macclesfield	1765–1766
Sir Rowland Winn, Fifth Baronet	1767–1785
Empty	1786
Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Second Baronet...	1787–1788
Hon. Penn Assheton Curzon (M.P. Leominster)	1789–1797
Alexander Davison	1798–1817
Hugh Percy, Third Duke of Northumberland, K.G. (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland)	1818–1822
Hudson Gurney	1823-1864
Henry Hoare	1865–1875
Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, Second Bt. (M.P. Herefordshire)	1876–

No. 12.

Sir Cyril Wyche, Kt. (President of the Royal Society, a Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, &c.)	1676–1677
Aubrey de Vere, Twentieth Earl of Oxford, K.G. (First Colonel of the Blues, &c.)...	1678–1683
Rebecca, Countess of Yarmouth	1684–1685
Thomas Herbert, Eighth Earl of Pembroke, K.G. (President of the Royal Society, Lord President of the Council, First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.)	1686–1733
Mary, Countess of Pembroke	1734–1746
Sir Everard Fawkener, Kt. (Joint Postmaster-General, &c.)...	1747–1751
Empty	1752–1753
Frederick Calvert, Seventh and last Lord Baltimore	1754
Henry Herbert, Tenth Earl of Pembroke (a Lord of the Bedchamber, General in the Army, &c.)...	1755–1758
Empty	1759–1761
Humphrey Sturt (M.P. Dorset)	1762–1786
Charles Sturt (M.P. Bridport)	1787–1788
Mrs. Sturt	1789–1798
Empty	1799–1802
Alexander Wedderburn, Earl of Rosslyn (Lord Chancellor when Lord Loughborough)	1803–1804
Charlotte, Countess of Rosslyn...	1805
James St. Clair Erskine, Second Earl of Rosslyn, K.G. (Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council, General in the Army, &c.)	1806–1832
William King, Eighth Lord King (afterwards Earl of Lovelace)	1833–1845
Archibald William Montgomerie, Thirteenth Earl of Eglinton, K.T. (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland)	1846–1858
John Winston Spencer-Churchill, Seventh Duke of Marlborough, K.G. (Lord President of the Council, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland)	1859–1879
The Salisbury Club	1880–1892
Empty	1893
The Nimrod Club	1894

No. 13.

Hon. Lawrence Hyde (M.P. University of Oxford, afterwards Earl of Rochester, K.G., and Lord Treasurer)	1676–1677
Sir John Williams, Second Bt. (of Marnhull, Co. Dorset) ...	1678
Digby Gerard, Fifth Lord Gerard of Bromley	1679
Sir John Williams, Second Bt....	1680
Lady Williams	1681–1682
Sir John Williams, Third Bt.	1683
Richard Lumley, First Lord Lumley (afterwards Earl of Scarborough, Treasurer to Queen Katherine of Braganza, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster)	1684–1685
Lord Conyers Darcy (afterwards Earl of Holdernesse)... ...	1686
Francis Newport, First Viscount Newport, afterwards Earl of Bradford (Treasurer of the Household)	1687–1689
[Evelyn] Pierrepont	1690–1691
Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland, K.G. (a Principal Secretary of State, &c.)	1692–1693
Richard Jones, First Earl of Ranelagh (Vice-Treasurer of Ireland)...	1694
The Dutch Ambassador	1695–1698
George Fitzroy, Duke of Northumberland, K.G. (Constable of Windsor Castle) ... ... [*And perhaps till his death in* 1716.]	1699–1708
George Granville, First Lord Lansdowne (Comptroller of the Household, &c., Author and Playwright)	1716–1717
Peregrine Hyde Osborne, Marquis of Carmarthen	1718–1719
Thomas Howard, Eighth Duke of Norfolk	1720–1722
The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty	1723–1725
Lady Clarges and George Clarges	1726–1727
William Capel, Third Earl of Essex, K.G. (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, &c.)	1728–1729
Henry Somerset (Scudamore), Third Duke of Beaufort ...	1730–1733
Empty	1734–1737
Sir Henry Liddell, Fourth Bt. (afterwards First Lord Ravensworth)	1738–1784
Anne, Lady Ravensworth	1785–1794
John Fitz-patrick, Second Earl of Ossory	1795

John Ker, Third Duke of Roxburgh, K.G. 1796–1804
[*Died here.*]
William Ker, Fourth Duke of Roxburgh 1805
James Innes Ker, Fifth Duke of Roxburgh 1806–1812
Edward Law, First Lord Ellenborough (Lord Chief Justice of England) 1813–1818
[*Died here.*]
William Henry Cavendish Scott-Bentinck, Fourth Duke of Portland (Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council) 1819–1826
John Murray, Fourth Duke of Athol, K.T. 1827–1830
Thomas Philip (Robinson) Weddell, Lord Grantham, K.G. (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) 1831–1833
John Murray, Fifth Duke of Athol 1834–1835
Windham Club 1836–

No. 14 (THE LONDON LIBRARY).

Sir Fulke Lucy, Kt. (M.P. Cheshire) 1676–1678
Sir John Dawnay, First Viscount Downe (M.P. Pontefract).. 1679–1685
Richard Lumley, Lord Lumley (afterwards First Earl of Scarborough, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, &c.) 1686–1693
John Vaughan, Third Earl of Carbery (President of the Royal Society, Governor of Jamaica) 1694–1697
John Poulett, Fourth Lord Poulett 1698
Anne, Lady Crew 1699–1704
Arthur Herbert, First Earl of Torrington (Admiral R.N., First Lord of the Admiralty, &c.) 1705–1716
Edward Harrison (Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, Joint Postmaster-General, &c.) 1717–1718
David Colyear, First Earl of Portmore, K.T. (General in the Army) 1719–1724
Samuel Trotman (M.P. Woodstock) 1726–1727
Henry Grey, First Duke of Kent, K.G. (Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward, Lord Privy Seal, &c.) 1728–1729
[*Came here during alterations at No.* 4.]
Empty 1730–1732
James Macartney... 1733–1739
Thomas Revel (M.P. Dover) 1741–1748
Peter Ducane 1749–1767
Sir Charles Asgill, First Bt. (Lord Mayor of London, Banker, &c.) 1768–1773
Sir William Mayne, First Bt. (afterwards Lord Newhaven)... 1774–1777
Empty 1778–1780
Charles Sloane Cadogan, Third Lord Cadogan (Master of the Mint) 1781–1787
Drummond Smith 1788
Jeffrey Amherst, First Lord Amherst (General in the Army, Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal, &c.) 1789–1797
Empty 1798
William Lygon, afterwards First Earl Beauchamp... 1799–1816
[*Died here.*]
Katherine, Countess Beauchamp 1817–1844
[*Died here.*]
The London Library 1845–
[*The Statistical Society, the Philological Society, and the Institute of Actuaries have also been located here.*]

No. 15 (LICHFIELD HOUSE).

Frances Theresa, Duchess of Richmond ("La belle Stewart") 1678–1679
Thomas Crew, Second Lord Crew 1680–1681
John Fitz-Gerald, Eighteenth Earl of Kildare 1682–1684
Lord Conyers Darcy (afterwards Earl of Holdernesse)... ... 1685
Sir John Dawnay, First Viscount Downe 1686
Marchioness de Gouvernet... 1687–1722
[*Died here.*]
Henry Hyde, Fourth Earl of Clarendon... 1723–1749
John Cleaveling 1751
Gilbert Heathcote 1752–1754
Thomas Thynne, Third Viscount Weymouth (afterwards First Marquis of Bath, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a Principal Secretary of State, &c.) 1755
John Ball, "Upholder in Vine-street" 1756–1759
[*The house pulled down at midsummer*, 1763.]
Thomas Anson (M.P. Lichfield) 1766–1773
George Anson (M.P. Lichfield)... 1774–1789
Thomas Anson (M.P. Lichfield) 1790–1799
Sir Henry Vane Tempest, Second Bt., and his wife, the Countess of Antrim 1800–1802
George Caulfield 1803
Thomas Anson, First Viscount Anson 1804–1808
[*But the house was let in* 1806 *to the Duchess of Gordon, and in* 1807–8 *to the First Marquis of Abercorn, K.G., according to Boyle's "Court Guide" for those years.*]
Edward Law, First Lord Ellenborough (Lord Chief Justice of England)... 1809–1812
Thomas Anson, First Viscount Anson 1813–1818
Charles Grey, Second Earl Grey, K.G. (Prime Minister, &c.) 1819
Thomas William Anson, Second Viscount Anson (afterwards First Earl of Lichfield, Master of the Buckhounds, Postmaster-General) 1820–1842
[*The house was let to the Duke of Bedford*, 1821–1829.]
Empty 1843–1845
Army and Navy Club... 1846–1850
Thomas William Anson, First Earl of Lichfield 1851–1854
Junior United Service Club 1855
[*The Anson family sold the house in* 1856 *to the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society, in whose possession it remains.*]

No. 16.

Robert Villiers, Third Viscount Purbeck... 1676–1678
The Swedish Ambassador 1679–1680
James Howard, Third Earl of Suffolk (Earl Marshal of England, &c.) 1681–1688
George Howard, Fourth Earl of Suffolk... 1689–1690
[*Perhaps non-resident, as the rates fell into arrear.*]
Henry Sidney, First Viscount Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Master General of the Ordnance, &c.) 1691–1704
Sir John Germain, First Bt. 1705–1718
Lady Elizabeth Germain 1719–1769
Vere Beauclerk, First Lord Vere of Hanworth (Admiral R.N. and a Lord of the Admiralty) 1770–1781
Mary, Lady Vere 1782
Aubrey Beauclerk, Second Lord Vere of Hanworth, afterwards Fifth Duke of St. Albans 1783
[*Empty till pulled down in* 1790.]
Waste ground 1791–1806
Edmund Boehm 1807–1819
Robert Vyner 1820–1825
Ulick John de Burgh, First Marquis of Clanricarde (Postmaster-General, Lord Privy Seal)... 1826–1843
[*The house was let to the Marquis Wellesley, K.G.,* 1828–29, *on his return from Ireland.*]
Empty 1844–1845
Prince of Wales Club... 1846
Free Trade Club (John Bright, Richard Cobden, Charles Villiers)... 1847–1849
East India United Service Club 1850–
[*At first rented from Lord Clanricarde, and bought outright by the club in* 1862.]

No. 17.

(*Until* 1725 *included with No.* 18 *in old Halifax House.*)

George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax (Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council) 1673–1695
William Savile, Second Marquis of Halifax 1696–1700
Mary, Marchioness of Halifax 1701–1707
John Ker, First Duke of Roxburgh, K.G. (Secretary of State for Scotland) 1708–1719
[*Halifax House was pulled down in* 1725, *and rebuilt by a builder named Phillips.*]
Mary, Countess of Bradford 1726–1737
Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Fourth Bt. 1738–1764
Sir Henry Bridgeman, Fifth Bt. 1765–1789
Sir Philip Francis (the reputed "Junius") 1790–1818
Lady Francis 1819–1827
[*Queen Caroline stayed here during her trial in* 1820, *and in* 1822 *the house was let to the Earl of Albemarle.*]
Philip Francis, junior 1828–1837
Empty 1838
Colonial Club 1839–1842
John Howell 1843–1862
East India United Service Club 1863–
[*Now pulled down and rebuilt with No.* 16.]

No. 18.

(*Until* 1725 *included with No.* 17 *in old Halifax House.*)

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, K.G. (Lord Steward, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a Principal Secretary of State, &c.) 1727–1733
Sir John Heathcote, Second Bt. (M.P. Bodmin) 1734–1759
[*His son-in-law the Earl of Morton also lived here.*]
Lady Heathcote 1760–1772
Count Walderen (Dutch Minister) 1773–1781
Hon. Robert Drummond 1782–1793
Edward Thurlow, First Lord Thurlow (Lord Chancellor) ... 1794–1803
William Ord (M.P. Morpeth) 1804–1805
Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, K.G., afterwards Second Marquis of Londonderry (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.) 1806–1822
Frances, Marchioness of Londonderry 1823–1829
Empty 1830
Oxford and Cambridge Club 1831–1837
Army and Navy Club... 1838–1845
Sir John Kelk, First Bt. 1846–1876
[*Now a lodging-house. Field-Marshal Lord William Paulet, G.C.B., died here in* 1893.]

No. 19 (CLEVELAND HOUSE).

Arthur Capel, First Earl of Essex (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, First Lord of the Treasury) 1677–1683
Algernon Capel, Second Earl of Essex (Constable of the Tower of London) 1684–1686
James Butler, Earl of Ossory (afterwards Second Duke of Ormond) 1687
Algernon Capel, Second Earl of Essex 1688–1692
Alexander Popham (M.P. Bath) 1693–1705
Thomas Howard, Eighth Duke of Norfolk 1706–1708
[*And probably later, though rate-books are missing.*]
The Venetian Ambassador... 1716–1719
Empty 1720
Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Southampton, and First Duke of Cleveland, K.G. 1721–1730
Died here.]
William Fitzroy, Second Duke of Cleveland 1731–1774
Henry Vane, Second Earl of Darlington... 1775–1792
William Henry Vane, Third Earl of Darlington, and First Duke of Cleveland of the new creation, K.G.... 1793–1842
[*Died here.*]
Henry Vane, Second Duke of Cleveland, K.G. (General in the Army) 1843–1864
William John Frederick Powlett Vane, Third Duke of Cleveland 1864
Harry George Powlett Vane, Fourth Duke of Cleveland, K.G. 1865–1891
[*House pulled down in* 1894.]

No. 20.

Sir Allen Apsley, Kt. (M.P. Thetford, Treasurer of the Household to the Duke of York) 1676–1683
Sir Peter Apsley, Kt. (Cofferer of the Household to James the Second) 1684–1692
Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Kt. (Treasurer of the Household to Princess Anne of Denmark) 1693–1704
Allen Bathurst, First Earl Bathurst (Captain of the Body Guard) 1705–1771
Empty and now rebuilt by Robert Adam... 1772–1774
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fourth Bt. (M.P. Salop 1775–1789
Lady Williams Wynn... 1790–1793
[*William Wyndham Grenville lived here with his widowed sister* 1789–1792.]
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fifth Bt. (M.P. Beaumaris) ... 1794–1840
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Sixth Bt. (M.P. Denbighshire) 1841–1885
[*The house was let to Lord Sondes* 1841–1847.]
Sir Herbert Lloyd Watkin Williams Wynn, Seventh Bt. .. 1886–

No. 21 (WINCHESTER HOUSE).

Arabella Churchill (Mistress of James the Second)	1676–1678
Sir Joseph Williamson, Kt. (M.P. Thetford, a Principal Secretary of State)	1679–1684
Katherine, Countess of Dorchester (Mistress of James the Second)...	1685–1696
Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, K.G. (First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, President of the Royal Society)	1697–1700
John Somers, First Lord Somers (Lord Chancellor, President of the Royal Society, Lord President of the Council) ...	1701
Francis Seymour Conway, Lord Conway	1702–1706
The Prussian Ambassador (Spanheim)	1707–1710
David Colyear, First Earl of Portmore, K.T. (General in the Army)	1711–1717
Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Seventh Earl and First Duke of Dorset, K.G. (Lord Steward, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord President of the Council)...	1718–1723
David Colyear, First Earl of Portmore, K.T.	1724–1730
Charles Colyear, Second Earl of Portmore, K.T....	1731–1739
Empty	1740–1741
Thomas Osborne, Fourth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (Cofferer of of the Household) ... ... [*House pulled down* 1790. *Rebuilt* 1791.]	1742–1789
Francis Godolphin Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) ... ... [*Died here.*]	1792–1799
George William Frederick Osborne, Sixth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (Master of the Horse)	1800–1802
Empty	1803–1806
George Raggett, for the Union Club...	1807–1816
Empty	1817
William Beauclerk, Eighth Duke of St. Albans ... ... [*Died here.*]	1818–1825
William Aubrey de Vere Beauclerk, Ninth Duke of St. Albans	1826–1828
Charles Richard Sumner, Bishop of Winchester	1829–1869
Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester	1870–1873
Edward Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester	1874–1875
War Office (branch of)	1876–

PART OF THE ARMY AND NAVY CLUB, FORMERLY INCLUDED IN THE SQUARE.

Mary Davis (Actress and Dancer)	1676–1687
John Bennet, First Lord Ossulston...	1688–1691
Mary, Countess of Northampton	1692–1719
Sir Spencer Compton, Kt. (afterwards Earl of Wilmington, K.G., Speaker of the House of Commons, First Lord of the Treasury)	1720–1743
John Hobart, First Earl of Buckinghamshire (Captain of the Body Guard)	1744–1750
Thomas Brand (M.P. Tavistock)	1751–1777
Hon. Henry Drummond (M.P. Midhurst)	1781–1795
Lord William Russell...	1796
Empty	1797–1798
Samuel Thornton (M.P. Kingston-upon-Hull)	1799–1817
Henry Richard Vassall Fox, Third Lord Holland (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster)	1818–1819
Hon. William Francis Spencer Ponsonby (M.P. Poole, afterwards First Lord de Mauley)	1820–1846

[*The house was occupied by the Parthenon Club* 1837–1841. *Pulled down to make way for the Army and Navy Club.*]

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF RATES LEVIED ON EACH HOUSE IN ST. JAMES'S SQUARE FROM 1676–1876.

1676.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Poor Rate Books. Rated. £ s. d.	Received. £ s. d.	Arrears. £ s. d.
Norfolk H., S.	Lewis de Duras, Marquis of Blanquefort	5 0 0	3 15 0	1 5 0
,, ,, N.	Katherine, Countess of Newburgh	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
London H.	Anne, Countess of Warwick	3 0 0	3 0 0	—
Derby H.	Aubrey de Vere, Twentieth Earl of Oxford, K.G....	3 10 0	—	3 10 0
1 and 2	[*Omitted in rate-book because not yet inhabited.*]	—	—	—
3	,, ,,	—	—	—
4	,, ,,	—	—	—
5	Henry Hyde, Second Earl of Clarendon	5 0 0	—	5 0 0
6	[*Omitted in rate-book because not yet inhabited.*]	—	—	—
7	,, ,,	—	—	—
8	[*Omitted in rate-book.*]			
9, 10, 11	[*Omitted in rate-book because not yet inhabited.*]	—	—	—
12	Sir Cyril Wyche, Kt. ...	2 10 0	2 10 0	—
13	The Hon. Lawrence Hyde	2 10 0	2 10 0	—
14	Sir Fulke Lucy, Kt. ...	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
15	[*Omitted in rate-book unless included in No.* 16.]	—	—	—
16	Robert Villiers, Third Viscount Purbeck	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
17 and 18	George Savile, First Viscount Halifax	6 0 0	6 0 0	—
19	[*Omitted in rate-book because site not yet appropriated.*]	—	—	—
20	Sir Allen Apsley, Kt. ...	2 16 0	2 16 0	—
21	Arabella Churchill	3 6 0	3 6 0	—
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Mary Davis	2 6 0	2 6 0	—

1696.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		St. James's Poor Rate-Books. Rated. £ s. d.	Received. £ s. d.	Arrears. £ s. d.
Norfolk H., S.	Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland, K.G.	8 12 0	8 12 0	—
,, ,, N.	Gertrude, Marchioness of Halifax	5 6 8	5 6 8	—
London H.	John Talbot	3 6 8	3 6 8	—
Derby H.	Henry Howard, Seventh Duke of Norfolk, K.G.	6 12 0	6 12 0	—
1 and 2	Charles Bennet, Second Lord Ossulston	8 12 0	8 12 0	—
3	Charles Howard, Third Earl of Carlisle	8 0 0	8 0 0	—
4	Anthony Grey, Tenth Earl of Kent...	9 6 8	9 6 8	—
5	Charles Talbot, First Duke of Shrewsbury, K.G. ...	6 13 4	6 13 4	—
6	*Empty house*	—	—	—
7	Charles Bodville Robartes, Second Earl of Radnor	6 13 4	6 13 4	—
8	Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch	9 6 8	9 6 8	—
9, 10, and 11	James Butler, Second Duke of Ormond, K.G. ...	10 13 4	10 13 4	—
12	Thomas Herbert, Eighth Earl of Pembroke, K.G.	6 13 4	6 13 4	—
13	The Dutch Ambassador ..	6 13 4	—	6 13 4
14	John Vaughan, Third Earl of Carbery	3 13 4	3 13 4	—
15	Marchioness de Gouvernet	6 13 4	6 13 4	—
16	Henry Sidney, First Earl of Romney	6 0 0	6 0 0	—
17 and 18	William Savile, Second Marquis of Halifax ...	10 13 4	10 13 4	—
19	Alexander Popham	9 6 8	—	9 6 8
20	Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Kt.	4 0 0	4 0 0	—
21	Katherine, Countess of Dorchester	5 0 0	5 0 0	—
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Mary, Countess of Northampton	4 0 0	4 0 0	—

1716.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rated. £ s. d.	Received. £ s. d.	Arrears. £ s. d.
Norfolk H., S.	William Henry Bentinck, First Duke of Portland	21 10 0	19 17 6	1 12 6
,, ,, N.	Sir James Bateman, Kt. ...	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
London H.	Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton...	10 0 0	—	10 0 0
Derby H.	Sir Richard Bealing (or Bellings), Kt.	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
1 and 2	Charles Bennet, Lord Ossulston and Earl of Tankerville	13 6 0	13 6 0	—
3	Edward Harley, Lord Harley	20 0 0	—	20 0 0
4	Henry Grey, Duke of Kent, K.G.	14 0 0	14 0 0	—
5	Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, K.G. ...	13 6 0	13 6 0	—
6	John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
7	Charles Bodville Robartes, Second Earl of Radnor	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
8	Thomas Howard, Eighth Duke of Norfolk	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
9, 10, and 11	Charles Butler, Earl of Arran	16 0 0	16 0 0	—
12	Thomas Herbert, Eighth Earl of Pembroke... ...	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
13	George Granville, First Lord Lansdowne	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
14	Governor Harrison	5 0 0	—	5 0 0
15	Marchioness de Gouvernet	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
16	Sir John Germain, First Baronet	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
17 and 18	John Ker, First Duke of Roxburgh	16 0 0	16 0 0	—
19	The Venetian Ambassador	14 0 0	—	14 0 0
20	Allen Bathurst, First Lord Bathurst...	7 10 0	7 10 0	—
21	David Colyear, First Earl of Portmore, K.T. ...	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Mary, Countess of Northampton	6 0 0	6 0 0	—

1736.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rated. £ s. d.	Received. £ s. d.	Arre £. s.
Norfolk H., S.	Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk... ...	25 0 0	25 0 0	—
,, ,, N.	Joseph Banks	7 10 0	7 10 0	—
London H.	John Ashburnham, First Earl of Ashburnham ...	13 0 0	13 0 0	—
Derby H.	John Hobart, First Lord Hobart	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
1 and 2	Charles Bennet, Second Earl of Tankerville, K.T.	18 15 0	9 7 6	9 7
3	Henry Temple, First Viscount Palmerston... ...	14 5 0	14 5 0	—
4	Henry Grey, First Duke of Kent, K.G.	20 0 0	20 0 0	—
5	Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, K.G. ...	13 10 0	13 10 0	—
6	John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol	13 10 0	13 10 0	—
7	Thomas Scawen	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
8	Sir Matthew Decker, First Baronet...	18 7 6	18 7 6	-
9, 10, and 11	— [*Ormond House now demolished, and three separate houses erected on the site.*]	—	—	—
12	Mary, Countess of Pembroke	14 2 6	14 2 6	—
13	*Empty house*	15 0 0	—	15 0 0
14	James Macartney	6 5 0	6 5 0	—
15	Henry Hyde, Fourth Earl of Clarendon	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
16	Lady Elizabeth Germain...	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
17	Mary, Countess of Bradford	15 0 0	1 0 0	—

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rated. £ s. d.	Received. £ s. d.	Arrears. £ s. d.
18	Sir John Heathcote, Second Baronet	16 12 6	12 10 0	4 2 6
19	Anne, Dowager Duchess of Cleveland...	15 12 6	15 12 6	—
20	Allen Bathurst, First Lord Bathurst	11 5 0	11 5 0	—
21	Charles Colyear, Second Earl of Portmore, K.T.	15 0 0	15 0 0	—
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Spencer Compton, First Earl of Wilmington, K.G.	10 0 0	10 0 0	—

1756.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk	525 0 0	45 15 0
London H.	Anthony Brown, Sixth Viscount Montagu	150 0 0	12 10 0
Derby H.	Sir Thomas Webb, Fourth Baronet	180 0 0	15 0 0
1	William Legge, Second Earl of Dartmouth	200 0 0	16 13 4
2	Hugh Boscawen, Second Viscount Falmouth	250 0 0	20 16 8
3	Henry Temple, First Viscount Palmerston	250 0 0	20 16 8
4	Philip Yorke, Lord Royston ...	350 0 0	29 3 4
5	William Wentworth, Fourth Earl of Strafford	216 0 0	18 0 0
6	George William Hervey, Second Earl of Bristol	216 0 0	18 0 0
7	William Fitzwilliam, Third Earl Fitzwilliam	216 0 0	18 0 0
8	Lady Decker	300 0 0	25 0 0
9	William Wollaston	150 0 0	12 10 0
10	Rt. Hon. Sir George Lee, Kt.	170 0 0	14 3 4
11	George Parker, Second Earl of Macclesfield	210 0 0	17 10 0
12	Henry Herbert, Tenth Earl of Pembroke	210 0 0	17 10 0
13	Sir Henry Liddell, First Lord Ravensworth	262 0 0	21 16 8
14	Peter Ducane	112 0 0	9 6 8
15	John Ball	75 0 0	6 5 0
16	Lady Elizabeth Germain	200 0 0	16 13 4
17	Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Fourth Baronet	187 0 0	14 13 4
18	Sir John Heathcote, Second Baronet	194 0 0	16 3 4

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
19	William Fitzroy, Second Duke of Cleveland	300 0 0	25 0 0
20	Allen Bathurst, First Lord Bathurst	200 0 0	16 13 4
21	Thomas Osborne, Fourth Duke of Leeds, K.G.	250 0 0	20 16 8
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Thomas Brand	165 0 0	13 15 4

1776.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Edward Howard, Ninth Duke of Norfolk	525 0 0	48 2 6
London H.	Bishop of London (Richard Terrick)	250 0 0	22 18 4
Derby H.	The Hon. George Hobart ...	250 0 0	22 18 4
1	William Legge, Second Earl of Dartmouth	200 0 0	18 6 8
2	Hugh Boscawen, Second Viscount Falmouth	250 0 0	22 18 4
3	Arthur Chichester, Fifth Earl of Donegal	250 0 0	22 18 4
4	Philip Yorke, Second Earl of Hardwicke	350 0 0	32 1 8
5	William Wentworth, Fourth Earl of Strafford	250 0 0	22 18 4
6	Augustus John Hervey, Third Earl of Bristol	216 0 0	19 16 0
7	George Greville, Second Earl of Warwick	300 0 0	27 10 0
8	Sir Sampson Gideon, First Baronet	300 0 0	27 10 0
9	Henry Vereist	225 0 0	20 12 6
10	Sir John Sheffield, Second Baronet	210 0 0	19 5 0
11	Sir Rowland Winn, Fifth Baronet	210 0 0	19 5 0
12	Humphrey Sturt	210 0 0	19 5 0
13	Sir Henry Liddell, First Lord Ravensworth	250 0 0	22 18 4
14	Sir •William Mayne, First Baronet	112 0 0	10 5 4
15	George Anson	250 0 0	22 18 4
16	Vere Beauclerk, First Lord Vere of Hanworth	200 0 0	18 6 8

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
17	Sir Henry Bridgeman, Fifth Baronet	200 0 0	18 6 8
18	Count Walderen	200 0 0	18 6 8
19	Henry Vane, Second Earl of Darlington	300 0 0	27 10 0
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fourth Baronet	300 0 0	27 10 0
21	Thomas Osborne, Fourth Duke Leeds, K.G.	250 0 0	22 18 4
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Thomas Brand	165 0 0	15 2 6

1796.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Charles Howard, Eleventh Duke of Norfolk	525 0 0	91 17 6
London H.	Bishop of London (Beilby Porteus)	250 0 0	43 15 0
Derby H.	George Hobart, Third Earl of Buckinghamshire	250 0 0	43 15 0
1	William Legge, Second Earl of Dartmouth	200 0 0	35 0 0
2	George Evelyn Boscawen, Third Viscount Falmouth	250 0 0	43 15 0
3	Arthur Chichester, First Marquis of Donegal	250 0 0	43 15 0
4	Jemima, Marchioness de Grey	350 0 0	61 5 0
5	George Byng	250 0 0	43 15 0
6	Frederick Augustus Hervey, Fourth Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry	216 0 0	37 16 0
7	Richard Barwell	300 0 0	52 10 0
8	Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Byerley	400 0 0	70 0 0
9	Henry Hugh Hoare	225 0 0	39 7 6
10	Sir William Heathcote, Third Baronet	210 0 0	36 15 0
11	The Hon. Penn Assheton Curzon	225 0 0	39 7 6
12	Mrs. Sturt	210 0 0	36 15 0
13	John Ker, Third Duke of Roxburgh	250 0 0	43 15 0
14	Jeffrey Amherst, First Lord Amherst	180 0 0	31 10 0
15	Thomas Anson	250 0 0	43 15 0
16	[*Waste Ground*]	—	—
17	Philip Francis	200 0 0	35 0 0
18	Edward Thurlow, First Lord Thurlow	200 0 0	35 0 0

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
19	William Henry Vane, Third Earl of Darlington...	300 0 0	52 10 0
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fifth Baronet...	300 0 0	52 10 0
21	Francis Godolphin Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, K.G....	525 0 0	91 17 6
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Lord William Russell	165 0 0	28 17 6

1816.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Bernard Edward Howard, Twelfth Duke of Norfolk ...	400 0 0	80 0 0
London H.	Bishop of London (William Howley)	230 0 0	46 0 0
Derby H.	John Craggs Eliot, First Earl of St. Germans	225 0 0	45 0 0
1	Thomas Philip (Robinson) Weddell, Third Lord Grantham .	197 0 0	39 8 0
2	Edward Boscawen, Fourth Viscount Falmouth	253 0 0	50 12 0
3	Philip Yorke, Third Earl of Hardwicke, K.G.	281 0 0	56 4 0
4	Amabel, Lady Lucas, and Countess de Grey	281 0 0	56 4 0
5	George Byng	253 0 0	50 12 0
6	Frederick William Hervey, Fifth Earl of Bristol	284 0 0	56 16 0
7	Wilbraham Egerton	234 0 0	46 16 0
8	Josiah Wedgwood	253 0 0	50 12 0
9	Henry Hugh Hoare	197 0 0	39 8 0
10	Thomas Freeman Heathcote ...	282 0 0	56 8 0
11	Alexander Davison	232 0 0	46 8 0
12	James St. Clair Erskine, Second Earl of Rosslyn	234 0 0	46 16 0
13	Edward Law, First Lord Ellenborough	254 0 0	50 16 0
14	William Lygon, First Earl Beauchamp	169 0 0	33 16 0
15	Thomas Anson, First Viscount Anson	350 0 0	70 0 0
16	Edmund Boehm	259 0 0	51 16 0
17	Sir Philip Francis, Kt.	225 0 0	45 0 0

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Rent. £ s. d.	Rated. £ s. d.
18	Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, K.G.	281 0 0	56 4 0
19	William Henry Vane, Third Earl of Darlington	281 0 0	56 4 0
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fifth Baronet...	338 0 0	67 12 0
21	George Raggett ... ... [*A note in the rate-book says:* "*Empty four quarters.*"]	450 0 0	90 0 0
Army and Navy Club, Part site of	Samuel Thornton	169 0 0	33 16 0

1836.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Yearly Value. £ s. d.	Rate. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Bernard Edward Howard, Twelfth Duke of Norfolk, K.G.	1,350 0 0	101 5 0
London H.	Bishop of London (Charles James Blomfield)	405 0 0	30 7 6
Derby H.	John Angerstein	536 0 0	40 4 0
1	William Legge, Fourth Earl of Dartmouth	350 0 0	30 1 6
2	Edward Boscawen, First Earl Falmouth	601 0 0	45 1 6
3	George William Frederick Osborne, Sixth Duke of Leeds, K.G.	717 0 0	53 15 6
4	Thomas Philip (Robinson) Weddell, de Grey, Second Earl de Grey	874 0 0	65 11 0
5	George Byng	699 0 0	52 8 6
6	Frederick William Hervey, First Marquis of Bristol...	713 0 0	53 9 6
7	Wilbraham Egerton	524 0 0	39 6 0
8	Charles Marsham, Second Earl of Romney	571 0 0	42 16 6
9	Henry Hugh Hoare	393 0 0	29 9 6
10	Windham Club	473 0 0	35 9 6
11	Hudson Gurney...	518 0 0	38 17 0
12	William King, Eighth Lord King ... ... [*House pulled down.*]	396 0 0	29 14 0
13	*Empty House*	717 0 0	53 15 6
14	Katherine, Countess Beauchamp	445 0 0	33 7 6
15	Thomas William Anson, First Earl of Lichfield	676 0 0	50 14 0
16	Ulick John De Burgh, First Marquis of Clanricarde... ...	533 0 0	39 19 6

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Yearly Value. £ s. d.	Rate. £ s. d.
17	Philip Francis, junior	424 0 0	31 16 0
18	Oxford and Cambridge Club ...	525 0 0	39 7 6
19	William Henry Vane, First Duke of Cleveland	633 0 0	47 9 6
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Fifth Baronet...	589 0 0	44 3 6
21	Bishop of Winchester (Charles Richard Sumner)	766 0 0	57 9 0
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	The Hon. William Francis Spencer Ponsonby	530 0 0	39 15 0

1856.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Gross Estimated Rental. £	Rateable Yearly Value. £	Rate. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Henry Charles Howard, Thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G.	1,600	1,420	124 5 0
London H.	Bishop of London (Charles James Blomfield)... ...	610	549	48 0 9
Derby H.	Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Fourteenth Earl of Derby	825	750	65 12 6
1	London and Westminster Bank	550	495	43 6 3
2	Evelyn Boscawen, Sixth Viscount Falmouth ...	790	715	62 11 3
3	Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission Office	1,000	850	74 7 6
4	Thomas Philip (Robinson) Weddell de Grey, Second Earl de Grey, K.G.	1,280	1,152	100 16 0
5	George Stevens Byng, Viscount Enfield	1,130	1,030	90 2 6
6	Frederick William Hervey, First Marquis of Bristol	1,050	945	82 13 9
7	Wilbraham Egerton ...	700	630	55 2 6
8	Charity Commission ...	850	750	65 12 6
9	Mrs. Anne Penelope Hoare	575	517	45 4 9
10	John Tollemache	650	585	51 3 9
11	Hudson Gurney	720	648	56 14 0
12	Archibald William Montgomerie, Thirteenth Earl of Eglinton	835	751	65 14 3
13	Windham Club	1,060	950	83 2 6
14	The London Library ...	400	360	31 10 0

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Gross Estimated Rental. £	Rateable Yearly Value. £	Rate. £	s.	d.
15	Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society	900	810	70	17	6
16	East India United Service Club	805	700	61	5	0
17	John Howell	800	720	63	0	0
18	John Kelk	600	540	47	5	0
19	Henry Vane, Second Duke of Cleveland, K.G. ...	840	756	66	3	0
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Sixth Baronet...	850	765	66	18	9
21	Bishop of Winchester (Charles Richard Sumner)	1,060	954	83	9	6
Army and Navy Club, of site of	Army and Navy Club ...	3,040	2,650	231	17	6

1876.

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Gross Estimated Rental. £	Rateable Yearly Value. £	Rate. £ s. d.
Norfolk H.	Henry FitzAlan Howard, Fifteenth Duke of Norfolk	2,000	1,667	111 2 8
London H.	Bishop of London (John Jackson)	700	584	38 18 8
Derby H.	Edward Henry Stanley, Fifteenth Earl of Derby	1,400	1,167	77 16 0
1	London and Westminster Bank	1,600	1,334	88 18 8
2	Evelyn Boscawen, Sixth Viscount Falmouth ...	790	659	43 18 8
3	Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission Office	1,000	834	55 12 0
4	Anne Florence, Countess Cowper	1,280	1,067	71 2 8
5	George Stevens Byng, Second Earl of Strafford	1,130	942	62 16 0
6	Frederick William John Hervey, Third Marquis of Bristol	1,300	1,084	72 5 4
7	William Tatton Egerton, First Lord Egerton of Tatton	1,050	875	58 6 8
8	Charity Commission ... [*Empty.*]	840	700	46 13 4
9	Mrs. Anne Penelope Hoare	576	480	32 0 0
10	John Tollemache, First Lord Tollemache of Helmingham...	750	625	41 13 4
11	Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, Second Baronet	1,000	834	55 12 0
12	John Winston Spencer Churchill, Seventh Duke of Marlborough, K.G....	900	750	50 0 0

Corresponding Modern Numbering.		Gross Estimated Rental. £	Rateable Yearly Value. £	Rate. £ s. d.
13	Windham Club	1,170	975	65 0 0
14	The London Library ...	527	440	29 6 8
15	Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society	950	792	52 16 0
16	East India United Service Club	2,250	1,875	125 0 0
17	East India United Service Club			
18	Sir John Kelk, First Baronet...	600	500	33 6 8
19	Harry George Powlett Vane, Fourth Duke of Cleveland, K.G.	950	792	52 16 0
20	Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Sixth Baronet ...	1,000	834	55 12 0
21	*Empty House* ... ... [*The house now sold to the War Office.*]	1,060	884	58 18 8
Army and Navy Club, Part of site of	Army and Navy Club ...	3,400	2,834	188 18 8

Since 1876 but few changes have taken place in the Square. The Copyhold, Inclosure and Tithe Commission Office has become the Board of Agriculture.

The Charity Commission has been removed to Gwydir House, Whitehall, and No. 8 has been occupied by various clubs, mostly of the agaric order.

No. 9 has been sold by the Hoare family to the Portland Club; No. 10, to Lord Kinnaird by the Heathcote trustees; the Duke of Marlborough's house has been turned into a club; and old Cleveland House has been pulled down. The changes on the south side have been more numerous; the extension of the Junior Carlton Club has involved the destruction of Adair House, which, however, belonged more properly to Pall Mall, and one or two mean buildings have been rebuilt on a handsomer scale.

APPENDIX B.

Warrant for a Crown Lease of Pall Mall Fields to the Earl of St Albans (1662).

Whereas, wee are informed that our Dearest Mother the Queene and her Trustees by Indenture dated the 27th day of March in the 13th yeare of our Reigne have granted or dimised to John Harvy and John Coell Esqrs (amongst other things) All that feild or close called the Pall Maile ffeild Conteyning by Estimacõn 45 Acres as parcell of the Baylywick of St James claimed by her as part of her ioyneture together wth all the houses thereon built for 21 yeares from Mr̃chas then last past and by One other Indenture dated the 28th day of the same moneth have also granted or demised the said ffeild or close amongst other things to the said John Harvey and John Coell for 10 yeares to coñence from the expiracõn of the said terme of 21 yeares wch grants wee are graciously pleased at the humble suite and petic̃on of or rt trusty and wel beloved Cousin Henry E of St Albans to ratify and confirme Our Will and pleasure therefore is that you forthwith prepare a bill fitt for Our Royall Signature to passe our great Seale conteyning Our Confirmacõn of the said severall grants for or concerning the said feild or close called the pell maile ffeild only under the rents Covenants Condic̃ons and agreemts therein respectively reserved and conteyned in such manner as you shall thinke meet and that

in consideracõn of the sume of £6000 as a fine to be paid by the said E into our excheq^{r} the said bill conteyne also our grant and dimise unto the said John Harvey and Jo Coell and their Assignes of all the said feild or close abovesaid together w^{t} all the houses thereon built and of the ground or close called Suffolke Stable yard conteyning about 3 acres pcell or reputed pcell also of y^{e} said Baylywick for soe many yeares as together wth the termes conteyned in the Leases thereof now in being shall make up the terme of 60 yeares from Mĩchas 1660 Reserving unto us our heyres and successors for the said Pall Maile feild the yearely rent of £5 and for the said Suffolke Stable yard 20/ per annum payable from the Commencement of the severall termes therein to be granted by Us and not before wth a grant and lycence for the said Lessees and their Assigns to erect build and make such houses and streets in and upon the premisses or any part thereof during the said sevrall termes soe granted and to bee granted as aforesaid and according to such plotts and designes as shal be approved of by us Our heyres or Successors under our or their signet and seale or great Seale And our further pleasure is that in consideracõn of a fine of £4000 more to be paid by the said E into our Excheq^{r} the said bill conteyne also our grant and demise of all those houses and grounds scituate and being in the parish of S^{t} Gyles holborne w^{ch} by L^{rs} Pattent dated the 2^{d} day of March in y^{e} 40th yeare of Queen Eliz were granted to Michael Morgan and Thomas Horne for 60 yeares to cõmence from Michas 1624 under the yearely rent of £5 : 6 : 8 unto the said John Harvey and John Coell and their assignes for the terme of 36 yeares to cõmence from Michas 1684 in such manner as you shall think fit at and under the said Rent of £5 : 6 : 8 wth a grant and Lycence also to rebuild the said houses in such manner as shal bee approved of by us our heyres and Successors under our and their Signett and Seale or great Seale and wth such promises for pay^{mt} of the said Rents and Inroll^{mt} of the grant and such other Clauses and Covenants as you shall think

reasonable and are usuall in our Leases and Grants of like nature and you are to take care that all the high way leading along the Parke Wall side from Charing Crosse to S^t^ James and the Soyle thereof and all the ground lying on the south side of the said way and all Lands tenem^ts^ and heredit^mts^ lying within S^t^ James Parke and Hide Parke or within any of the Courts yards or backsides of our house at S^t^ James bee forthwith Surrendred to Our use and that such high wayes for common passage from the Strand to S^t^ James as Wee Our Heyres or Successors shall appoynt be also surrendred to us and excepted out of Our Confirmac̃on and grant and bee made as aforesaid in such manner as you shall thinke meet and for soe doing etc dated the 17^th^ of May 1662.

To the Attorney Generall [Sir E. Nicholas].

[Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic. 1662. Warrant Book 7.]

Grant of the Site of St. James's Square, &c., to the Earl of St. Albans, April 1st, 1665.

Patent Roll. 17 Car. II., 1665. Part 6. No. 3077. Mem. 17.

Charles the Second by the grace of God &c. To all to whom these p̃sents shall come greeting. Whereas in and by one Indenture bearing date the seaven and twentieth day of March which was in the thirteenth yeare of our Raigne made or menc̃oned to bee made betweene our deare Mother the Queene Henry Earle of St. Albans Sir Kenelme Digby Sir John Wintour Sir Charles Harbord Knight Sir Robert Long Kn^t & Baronett then Robert Long Esquire Sir Peter Ball Knight and Sir Henry Wood Knight and Baronett of the one parte and John Harvey and John Coell Esquires of the other parte reciteing and menc̃oning that the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans Sir Kenelme Digby Sir John Wintour Sir Charles Harbord Sir Robert Long Sir Peter Ball and Sir Henry Wood Were possessed amongst other things of the Bayliwicke or Mannor of Saint James in the Feilds in the County of Middlesex Whereof the Lands Tenements and hereditaments therein and herein after menc̃oned Were parcell for the tearme or tearmes of divers yeares then vnexpired Vpon trust and confidence to and for the only vse and behoofe of our said deare Mother the Queene for her life With power to make the lease therein menc̃oned our said deare Mother of her

27 Mar. 1661.

especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on and the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans Sir Kenelme Digby Sir John Wintour Sir Charles Herbord Sir Robert Long Sir Peter Ball and Sir Henry Wood by her Maiesties Warrant and com̃and and for other the consideraco̅ns therein expressed have demised graunted sett and to Farme letten or as it is therein menc̃oned that they did thereby demise graunt sett and to Farme lett vnto the said John Harvey and John Coel All that the Balywicke Mannor and Mannors of Saint James in the Fields in the County of Midd̃s With the rights liberties members and Appurtenances Whatsoever And all Messuages Cottages Edifices buildings lands Tenements and hereditaments Whatsoever thentofore graunted or Assigned or menc̃oned to bee graunted or Assigned by Sir John Walter Knight Sir James Fullerton Knight and Sir Thomas Trevor Knight in and by their Indenture bearing date the Eleaventh day of July in the yeare of our lord one thousand six hundred Twenty and nyne vnto the right honõble Henry Earle of Holland Edward Earle of Dorsett Thomas lord viscount Savage Sir Robert Acton Knight Sir Richard Wynne Knight and Barronett and Sir Thomas Hatton by the name or names of all that the Baylywicke or Mannor of Saint James in the Feilds in the County of Midd̃s With the rights members and Appurtenances Whatsoever menc̃oned in the pticuler thereof to bee of the yearely rent or value of Thirty seaven pounds and six pence and to bee parcell of the poss̃ions of the late Kings Maiesty and before parcell of the lands late purchased from the Abbott of Westminster and other persons (except as therein is menc̃oned to bee excepted) To hold to the said John Harvey and John Coel their Executors Administrators and Assignes from Mich̃as then last past for and dureing and vnto the full end and tearme of one and twenty yeares from thence next ensueing and fully to bee compleate and ended yeilding and paying therefore yearely and every yeare during the said tearme the yearely rent or sum̃e of thirty seaven pounds and six pence of lawfull

11 July 1629.

money of England Att the Feasts of the Annunciac̃on of the blessed virgin Mary and Saint Michaell the Archangell to bee paid to the hands of her Maiesties Bayliffe or Receivor generall of the p̃misses for the time being by even and equall porc̃ons to and for the vse of the said Queenes Mãtie dureing her life And after her decease to the Bayliff or Receivor generall of vs our Heires and Successors of the p̃misses for the time being by even & equall porc̃ons dureing the said tearme As in and by the said recited Indenture amongst other things therein conteyned may att large appeare

28 Mar. 1661. And Whereas in and by one other Indenture bearing date the eight and twentieth day of March Which Was in the said Thirteenth yeare of our Raigne made or menc̃oned to bee made betweene our said deare Mother Henry Earle of S^t^ Albans Sir Kenelme Digby Sir John Wintour Sir Charles Herbord Sir Peter Ball Sir Robert Long and Sir Henry Wood of the one parte and the said John Harvey and John Coel of the other parte reciting as in and by the said First recited Indenture is menc̃oned to bee recited the said Queene of her especiall grace and certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on and the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans Sir Kenelme Digby Sir John Wintour Sir Charles Herbord Sir Peter Ball Sir Robert Long and Sir Henry Wood By her Warrant and com̃aund and for other the considerac̃ons therein expressed Have demised graunted sett and to Farme letten or itt is therein menc̃oned that they did thereby demise graunt sett and to Farme lett vnto the said John Harvey and John Coel All that the said Bayliwicke Manno^r^ and Mannors of Saint James in the Feilds in the County of Midd̃s With the rights members and Appurtenances thereof and all and singular other the p̃misses in and by the said first recited Indenture graunted or demised vnto the said John Harvey and John Coell for the tearme of one and Twenty yeares as aforesaid (except as therein is menc̃oned to bee excepted) To have and to hold to the said John Harvey and John Coel their Executors Administrators and Assignes from and after

the end expiracõn forfeiture or other determinacõn of the said Estate made by her said Mãtie and her Trustees vnto the said John Harvey and John Coell as aforesaid for and dureing and vnto the full end and tearme of tenne yeares from thence next and imediately ensueing and fully to bee expired and ended yeilding and paying therefore yearely from and after the comencement of the said tearme dureing the said tearme the yearely rent or sume of thirty and seaven pounds and six pence of lawfull money of England Att the Feasts of the Annunciacõn of the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Michaell the Archangell the first payment thereof to bee made att such of the said Feasts as shall first and next happen after the comencement of the said tearme of tenne yeares As by the said last recited Indenture amongst other things therein conteyned may att large appeare. And Whereas all that Feild or Close called the Pall Mall Feild conteyning by estimacõn Forty and five acres and the Houses Edifices and buildings therevpon erected and built scituate and being in the parish of Saint Martins in the Feilds in the said County of Midds is reputed to bee parcell of the said Bayliwicke Mannor or Mannors of Saint James and other the pmisses in and by the said recited Indenture demised as aforesaid And Whereas Wee in and by one Indenture beareing date the three and Twentieth day of September Which Was in the Foureteenth yeare of our Raigne made or mencõned to bee made betweene vs of the one parte and the said Henry Earle of St. Albans John Harvey and John Coell of the other parte reciteing as is herein before recited Were graciously pleased att the Humble petiõn of the said Earle of Saint Albans to ratifye and confirme vnto the said John Harvey and John Coell the said close or feild called the Pall Mall Feild With the houses Edifices and buildings there vpon erected and built With their Appurtenances (except as therein is mencõned to bee excepted) for the severall times and termes of one and twenty yeares and tenne yeares to them in and by the said severall

23 Sept. 1662.

recited Indentures graunted or menc̃oned to bee graunted as aforesaid att and vnder the severall yearely rents covenants and Agreements in and by the said severall recited Indentures respectively reserved and conteyned And did thereby alsoe for the considerac̃ons aforesaid and att and by the nominac̃on of the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans graunt vnto the said John Harvey and John Coell the said Close or Feild called the Pall Mall Feild and all the houses and buildings therevpon erected and built To hold to them their Executors and Assignes from the Feast of Saint Michaell the Archangell Which shall bee in the yeare of our lord one thousand six hundred nynety and one for the tearme of nyne and twenty yeares To com̃ence and take effect as a future interest and not as a Reverc̃on Att and vnder the yearely rent of five pounds And Wee did in and by the same Indenture give and graunt vnto the said John Harvey and John Coell their Executors and Assignes licence liberty power and authority by themselves servants Agents and Workemen from thenceforth during the said tearme and tearme of yeares thereby recited or graunted as aforesaid to frame erect pull downe new build and sett vpp by and according to such designes and plotts as by vs our Heires and Successors should bee directed such and soe many Messuages dwelling houses stables coach houses walls and other edifices and buildings in or vpon all or any parte of the p̃misses as they shall thinke fitt As in and by the said last recited Indenture (amongst other things therein conteyned) may att large appeare And Whereas Wee have designed a place in the said Pall Mall Feild Whereon thirteene or Foureteene great and good houses Which Will compasse the said place are to stand And Wee being informed that men are vnwilling to build such greate houses for any terme or estate but that of Inheritance Now Know yee that Wee for and in considerac̃on of the many good and acceptable services to vs done and pformed by the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans and for other good considerac̃ons vs

therevnto moveing of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on have given and graunted and by these p̃sents att and by the nominac̃on of the said Earle doe for vs our Heires and Successors give and graunt vnto our trusty and Welbeloved Baptist May and Abraham Cowley Esquires their Heires and Assignes the severall peices or parcells of ground herein after menc̃oned (that is to say) All that peice or pcell of ground conteyning by estimac̃on two hundred feete in front being or reputed to bee one moyety or halfe part of the West side of a great Square place in the said Feild called the Pall Mall feild staked out With the depth to the High Way leading Northward from Saint James gate And alsoe all those two slipps or parcells of ground lyeing and being on the Southside of the said great square place and of the Northside of the streete called or knowne by the name of the Pall Mall streete alʒ Saint Katherines streete each of the said slipps or parcells of ground conteyning by estimac̃on in length two hundred and tenne feete and in depth sixty feete or thereabouts And alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground lyeing and being on the West end of the said two slipps or parcells of Ground and on the North side of the said streete called the Pall Mall streete alʒ Saint Katherine streete equall to the breadth of the said two slipps or parcells of ground With the depth to the High Way leading Northward from Saint James House And alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground conteyning by Estimac̃on two hundred Feete or thereabouts being the other Moyety or Halfe part of the West side of the said great square place With two Hundred Feete in depth And allsoe all that peice or parcell of ground lyeing betweene the West and north side of the said great square place or ground being a square of two Hundred feete or thereabouts Wherevpon stables are designed and intended to bee built to and for the Houses to bee built vpon the severall parcells of ground aforesaid and alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground conteyning by estimac̃on two hundred and tenne feete in front or thereabouts

being or reputed to bee one moyety or halfe part of the North side of the said square place With the depth to the first streete Northward And all that peice or parcell of ground conteyning by estimac̃on two hundred and tenne feete in front or thereabouts being the other moyety or Halfe parte of the Northside of the said great square place With the depth alsoe to the first streete Northward and alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground lyeing betweene the North and East sides of the said great square place being a square of two hundred feete or thereabouts Wherevpon stables are designed to bee built to and for the Houses intended to bee built on the severall parcells of ground last menc̃oned And alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground conteyning by Estimac̃on two hundred feete in front and two hundred feete in depth being or reputed to bee one moyety or Halfe part of the East side of the said great square place And alsoe all that peice or parcell of ground conteyning by estimac̃on two hundred feete in front and two hundred feete in depth being or reputed to bee the other moyety or Halfe part of the said east side of the said great square place All Which said severall peices or parcells of ground and p̃misses herein before menc̃oned and intended to bee hereby graunted as aforesaid are parcell or reputed parcell of the said Close or Feild called Pall Mall Feild and p̃misses in and by the said severall recited Indentures demised as aforesaid And together With the square place or parcell of ground Hereafter menc̃oned and intended to bee *accepted*[1] doe conteine in the Whole by estimac̃on twelve acres three roodes and two and Twenty Pearches or thereabouts And all our Estate right title interest clayme and demaund Whatsoever of in and vnto the p̃misses herein before menc̃oned and intended to bee hereby graunted and every parte and parcell thereof And the Reverc̃on and Reverc̃ons Remainder and Remainders together With the yearely and other rents Revenues and proffitts of the p̃misses and of every parte and parcell thereof (except

[1] *Accepted* in original, but an obvious slip of the pen for *excepted*.

and out of these p̃sents and the graunt hereby made alwaies reserved and foreprized) All that peice or parcell of ground being a square place and designed for a Markett place and Wherein a Markett House is intended to bee erected conteyning in length from East to West two Hundred sixty and two feete and in breadth from North to South one Hundred nynety and fyve feete and foure inches or thereabouts And alsoe all streetes High Wayes and publique pathes and passages to bee made and laid out in by or through the p̃misses or any parte or parcell partes or parcells thereof To Have and to Hold the said seuãll peeces or parcells of ground and all and singuler other the p̃misses herein before menc̃oned and intended to bee hereby graunted With their Appurtenances vnto the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley and their Heires to the vse of the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley and of their Heires and Assignes for ever yeilding and paying And the said Henry Earle of Saint Albans for himselfe his heires Executors and Administrators doth hereby covenant and graunt to and With vs our Heires and Successors to yeild and pay vnto vs our Heires and Successors att the receipt of the Excheq^{r} att Westminster the yearely rent or sũme of Fourescore pounds of lawfull money of England together with the said severall yearely Rents or sũmes of money in or by the said severall recited Indentures or leases respectively reserved or payable as aforesaid Which are hereby agreed intended and declared to remaine and continue to bee paid and payable during the continuance of the said leases respectively according to the purport and intent of the reservac̃ons and agreements in the same severall leases conteyned the said yearely rent of Fourescore pounds to bee paid att the Feasts of Saint Michaell the Archangell and the Annunciac̃on of the blessed Virgin Mary by even and equall porc̃ons the first payment thereof to begin and bee made att the Feast of Saint Michaell the Archangell Which shalbee in the yeare of our lord Christ one thousand six hundred sixty and six Provided alwayes that if the said

yearely rent of Fourescore pounds hereby reserved as aforesaid shall att any tyme or times hereafter bee behind or vnpaid by the space of Forty dayes next over or after either of the said Feast dayes Whereon the same is herein before appointed to bee paid That then and from thenceforth the Graunt hereby made of the p̃misses vnto the [*sic*: ? said] Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Heires and Assignes of the p̃misses as aforesaid shall cease determine and bee voyd Any thing to the contrary notwithstanding And Whereas sundry of the Tennants of that Rowe of Houses Which are scituate and being on the South syde of the said streete called Pall Mall Streete alʒ Saint Katherines Streete Have Humbly besought vs that leases may bee graunted to them of the ground sometymes vsed as the Coñon High Way from Charing Crosse to our Mansion House of Saint James and lyeing betweene their said Houses and the Wall of our said Parke of Saint James Wherevnto Wee are graciously pleased to condiscend Now know yee therefore that Wee for the consideracõns aforesayd and of our more ample grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on have graunted leased sett and to Farme letten and by these p̃sents (att and by the like nominac̃on of the said Earle) doe graunt lease sett and to Farme lett vnto the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Executors and Assignes All that parte of the said Ground heretofore vsed as a coñon High Way Which doth extend from that parte or parcell thereof Which Wee have already graunted to our Trusty and Welbeloved Sir Phillipp Warwicke Knight on the East to that other parte or parcell thereof Which Wee have likewise already graunted to our Trusty and Welbeloved Sir John Denham Knight of the Bath on the West To have and to hould the same vnto the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Executors Administrators and Assignes from the Feast of Saint Michaell the Archangell Which Was in the twelfth yeare of our Raigne for and during and vnto the full end and tearme of

threescore yeares from thence next ensueing and fully to bee compleate and ended To the intent that leases may bee made and graunted to the seuãll Tennants thereof as is desired yeilding and paying therefore yearely and every yeare during the said Tearme vnto vs our Heires and Successors in the receipt of the Exchequer att Westminster the yearely rent or sũme of Forty shillings of lawfull money of England Att the Feast of the Annunciac̃on of the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Michaell the Archangell by even and equall porc̃ons The First payment thereof to beginn and bee made att the Feast of the Anunciac̃on of the blessed Virgin Mary now next comeing Provided alwayes And our Royall Will and pleasure is That the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Executors Administrators or Assignes or any of them shall not att any tyme or tymes hereafter erect sett vpp or build or cause pmitt or suffer to bee erected sett vpp or built any houses Edifices or Buildings Whatsoever vpon any parte or partes of the p̃misses last menc̃oned and hereby intended to bee demised as aforesaid Which shall or may annoy or prejudice or bee occasion of annoyance or prejudice to our said house called Saint James House or our said Parke called Saint James Parke or any our Houses Edifices or buildings in about or belonging to them or either of them And that they the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Heires or Assignes or either or any of them shall not or may not att any tyme or tymes hereafter erect frame build or sett vpp or cause to bee erected framed built or sett vpp any Houses Edifices or buildings on or vpon any parte or partes of the said severall peices or parcells of ground and premisses herein before menc̃oned and intended to bee hereby graunted vnto the said Baptist May and Abraham Cowley their Heires and Assignes as aforesaid But such only as shall bee according to such designes and plotts and in such manner and forme as Wee our Heires and Successors shall by Warrant vnder our or their signe Manuell or privy Signett direct and appoint and not otherwise Any thing to the con-

trary in any Wise notwithstanding Provided alsoe that if the said yearely Rent of Forty shillings hereby reserved and payable as aforesaid shalbee behinde or vnpaid in part or in all by the space of Forty dayes next after either of the said Feast dayes Whereon the same is herein before appointed to bee paid That then and from thenceforth the demise and lease hereby made of the said part of the said High Way and p̃misses last menc̃oned shall cease determine and bee vtterly voyd Any thing herein before conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding Provided further that if these our letters Patent bee not inrolled before the Auditor of the said County of Middlesex for the tyme being Within one yeare next after the date hereof Then these p̃sents and the severall Graunts hereby made shall cease determine and bee vtterly voyd any thing herein before conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding And our further Will and pleasure is And Wee doe by these p̃sents for vs our Heires and Successors Declare and graunt that these our letters Patents or the Inrollment thereof shalbee in and by all things firme good valid and effectuall in the lawe to all intents and purposes Notwithstanding the not reciting or menc̃oning or ill or not true reciting or menc̃oning of the said severall recited Indentures or letters Patents or of any of them or of any the graunts Clauses matters or things in them or any of them specified or conteyned or of any other letters Patents or graunts heretofore made or graunted of the p̃misses or any of them or any parte or parcell thereof by vs or any of our Royall Progenitors or Predecessors vnto any person or persons Whatsoever And notwithstanding noe Inquisic̃on or Office hath beene had or taken of or concerning the p̃misses before the makeing of these p̃sents or that the true and certaine yearely vallue thereof is not herein sett forth and expressed And notwithstanding the not naming or menc̃oning or not true or certaine naming describing or menc̃oning of the p̃misses or any of them or any parte or parcell partes or parcells thereof or of the severall quantityes extents meetes

or bounds thereof or of any parte or partes thereof or of any parish place or county Wherein the same are scittuate lyeing or being And notwithstanding the Statute made in the Parliament held in the First yeare of the Reigne of our late Royall Predecessor King Henry the fourth And notwithstanding the Statute made in the Parliament held in the Eighteenth yeare of our late Royall Predecessor King Henry the sixth Or any other Act Statute Provision uncertainty Imperfec̃on or other matter or thing to the contrary in any Wise notwithstanding, although expresse menc̃on &c̃
In Witnesse &c̃. Witnes the King att Westm̃ the first day of Aprill

P̄ br̃e de privato sigillo.

APPENDIX C

A DESCRIPTION OF WESTERN LONDON IN 1675.

In Ogilby's *Britannia*, published in the year 1675, is contained the following interesting description of the main thoroughfare of London from east to west, *temp.* Charles the Second. Our author takes as his starting-point the Standard in Cornhill, and after describing the route through the City, down Ludgate Hill and along Fleet Street, he tells us that when Temple Bar is reached the liberties of the City of Westminster are entered upon. Thenceforward his instructive account of Western London is reproduced verbatim.

"At 10 furlongs 19 poles [from Cornhill] you have an acute way on the right leading into *Clement's Inn* and *New Market;* and at 10. 34. *Essex House*, Built into Tenements; at 11 furlongs you have *St. Clement's* church on the right, and *Milford Lane* on the left; 8 poles beyond, *Arundel House* on the left, Building also: at 12. 2. you have *Strand Bridge*, a passage to the *Thames;* and 7 poles more, the *May Pole* and *Drury Lane*, which is a direct way into *St. Giles's:* at 12. 21. is *Somerset House* on the left, built by the Duke of *Somerset*, now the Queen's House; pleasantly seated on the banks of the *Thames:* at 12. 35. you come to *Katherine Street*, a new-made passage to *Covent Garden;* and at 13. 11. to *Exeter House*, opposite to which is the *Savoy*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, anno 1245. A little beyond the *Savoy*, is

Worcester House on the left; and at 14 furlongs *Bedford House* on the right: at 14. 10. you pass the *Middle Exchange* on the left, part of *Salisbury House*, another part of the said house being lately built into Tenements; between which and *Durham Yard* is *Ivy Bridge*, a passage to the *Thames:* at 14. 34. you have the *Half Moon* Passage on the right, leading into *Covent Garden;* and on the left *Britain's Burse* or the *New Exchange*, built anno 1608. Adjoining this was *York House*, now built and building into fair streets; as *Buckingham Street* at 15. 15. and *Villiers Street* at 15. 24.

"At 16. 19. you have *St. Martin's Lane* on the right; at 16. 22. *Northumberland House* on the left; and at 16. 30. *Charing Cross*, where is now erecting a stately pedestal whereon to place the effigies of King *Charles* the First on horseback, cast in brass: Here the directer way on the left proceeds south, to *Whitehall* the King's Palace, and thence into the City of *Westminster;* but your road from *Charing Cross* aforesaid, bears to the North West; and at 17. 1. passes by the *Mews* on the right; where are kept the King's horses; at 17. 17. by the side of the *Mews* is *Hedge Lane;* and at 17. 25. *Warwick Street* acute on the left, and *Great Suffolk Street* on the right; at 2 miles and a quarter, the left hand way is the *Pall Mall Street*, but your road bears to the right, up the *Hay Market;* passing by *Little Suffolk Street, New James Street,* and *Panton Street*, successively on the right; and opposite to the last, is *Morris Street* leading to *St. James's* Market Place; at 19. 21. being come to the upper end of the *Hay Market*, the forward street leads into *Windmill Street*, and the right hand way by Mr. Secretary *Coventry's* House, towards *St. Giles's;* but your road bears to the left southwesterly along the *Pickadilly;* at 19. 24. you have an acute way on the right up *Shug Lane;* and at 20. 17. *Air Street* on the right, and *Eagle Street* on the left: at 20. 32. you have *Portugal Street* on the left, leading into the *Area* or Square of theNew Buildings; whence by *Swallow Street* and *Chip Street* successively on the right, and *Duke Street* on the left, you

pass by *Sir Thomas Clerges's* and *Burlington House* on the right; and at 22. 13. *James's Street* on the left, leading to the Palace of *St. James's*, the residence of their Royal Highnesses; on the right you have *Clarendon House*, and here you have *St. James's* Park Wall on the left; and at 23. 5. *Berkley House* on the right; 20 poles beyond which the Buildings terminate on the right. To this extent from the *Standard*, westward, adding the distance thence to *Mile-End*, eastward, gives the length of the City this way, 4 English Miles: But proceeding at 24. 26., you come to the Stone Bridge over that Rill which supplies the *Canal* in the Park; and at 25. 30. to the west corner of the Park; where on the left falls in the way from *Westminster*, by *Tuttle Street*, *Petty France* etc. 4. Poles from this Corner you have a way on the right by the side of *Hide Park*, into the other road at *Tyburn*."

Here we have recorded the gradual breaking up of the old mansions in the Strand into separate tenements: Essex House subdivided by Nicholas Barbon; Arundel House, Salisbury House, and York House sharing a like degradation within a few years. Vast as has been the increase in the volume of traffic since Ogilby wrote, this still continues to be the main omnibus route from east to west, substituting only the easier ascent of the modern Waterloo Place for the Haymarket hill.

The New Market alluded to is of course Clare Market, Hedge Lane is the modern Whitcomb Street, Chip Street is an old name for Sackville Street, and Morris Street is merely a misprint for Norris Street.

Shug Lane, which ran obliquely from the Haymarket end of Piccadilly into Glasshouse Street (formerly called Marylebone Street), existed under the name of Tichborne Street until the recent formation of Shaftesbury Avenue; and from this account it would appear that before St. James's Church was built there had been an intention of making a carriage-way direct from Piccadilly into York Street and St. James's

Square, but Ogilby is wrong in calling the projected opening Portugal Street, as a portion of the east end of Piccadilly itself had already been so re-christened in honour of Katherine of Braganza. At the same time an attempt was made to call Pall Mall Katherine Street, but neither of these complimentary names had any enduring popularity. In speaking of the St. James's Park Wall as skirting the roadway on the left hand near Berkeley [now Devonshire] House, Ogilby alludes to the modern Green Park, often spoken of in his time as St. James's Upper Park. Very interesting is his mention of the rill crossed by a stone bridge in the dip, which rustic stream, long a source of trouble in time of floods, still survives in the more prosaic guise of a metropolitan sewer, crossing Piccadilly from Brick Street, flowing thence across the Green Park towards Buckingham Palace and the Thames.

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